



DOCTOR OF EDUCATION (EDD)

Personal and Professional Identities of Three Expatriate, Pakistani, Muslim, Female Teachers of English: The Narratives Thus

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Award date:
2016

Awarding institution:
University of Bath

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**Personal and Professional Identities of Three Expatriate, Pakistani,
Muslim, Female Teachers of English: The Narratives Thus Far**

Misbah Naqvi

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Education

University of Bath

Department of Education

January, 2016

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisors Dr David Skidmore and Dr Rita Chawla-Duggan for their guidance and suggestions. I am also very grateful to Dr Janet Goodall for her tremendous support as the Director of Studies, to Dr Mary Hayden for her encouragement and Gill Brooke-Taylor for her expeditious responses. I greatly appreciate Justin Hodds' constant help as the subject librarian. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Tariq Rahman whose research has been crucial to my study.

My husband, Ali Haider Sherazee has always had faith in my abilities that I have often doubted. His philosophical insights have been enlightening. He has been my strength. My exuberant and determined daughter Mehreen Naqvi-Sherazee (in the United States) has been a distant support. My serene and compassionate daughter Aaliyeh-Naqvi-Sherazee has been a distant (New Zealand) yet constant companion and critical friend – discussing my research while doing her own Ph.D. My siblings (in Pakistan, Nabila and Hussam; in the UK, Abila; and in Canada, Zulfiqar and Sajjad) have encouraged me throughout this lengthy, critical and challenging journey of self-discovery. During this period, I lost my scholarly father, Syed Ashfaq Hussain Naqvi (28th December, 2009), my younger brother and friend, Syed Samsam Haider Naqvi (5th March, 2010) and my deeply loved and esteemed mother-in-law Mehranges Zahra Begum Ispahani Sherazee (28th May 2013). My father-in-law, fellow Capricorn and storyteller, Muhammed Hassan Sherazee passed away (9th October, 2014), at the age of 90.

My EFL friends have been involved indirectly and their ideas can be heard in the flavour of my own words. A special thank you to Dr Fiona Meyer Estrada, who shared her own Ed.D. experiences with me. I thank the participants of this study; without their input, trust and patience my research would not have been complete.

I dedicate this work to my mother Syeda Qudsia Parveen Tirmizi Naqvi, born 7th November 1924, who was a person ahead of her time. She has been my role-model, my inspiration, my first friend and my Vygotsky. Her zeal and wisdom resonate in my ears even after her passing on 31st December, 1979.

Declaration

“I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Education, contains no materials previously published or written in any medium by another person, except where appropriate reference has been given.”

Abstract

This research enquiry explores the life-history narratives of three Pakistani female expatriate tertiary-level English language teachers at Gulf Coeducational University (GCU). The study was conducted in order to investigate the participants' journeys as learners and how they perceive themselves as teachers. The historical, educational, and linguistic background of Pakistan is provided along with an overview of GCU, where all the participants presently teach. Harré's conception of personhood (1983) is related to the identity formation of the participants. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital in society (1986, 2001), applied to the hierarchical status of languages in Pakistan (Rahman, 2004a; Mansoor, 2004), serves as a theoretical framework. A discussion of what Pakistani identity may entail, with emphasis on the significance of language on cultural identity, is given. Narrative research methodology is utilised (Clandinin and Connelly, 1996, 2000), to conduct three in-depth semi-structured interviews with the participants. Emerging themes are explored and research findings discussed with reference to relevant literature. The significance of their cultural capital, experiences of teacher-centred approaches in Pakistan and abroad, and the gender-based constraints the participants experienced during their educational trajectories are analysed. The implications of the study: for professional development, teacher training programmes and for the internationalisation of education can be explored in further research.

Key words and phrases

Pakistan female teachers, expatriate English language teachers, narrative research, teacher identity, internationalisation of education.

Chapter 1 Purpose of the Study

1.1 Introduction

I have lived and taught in 5 countries as an expatriate tertiary teacher of English as a Second Language (ESL) since 1969, working throughout my professional life outside my country of birth, Pakistan. At present I am working at Gulf Coeducational University (GCU - a pseudonym) in the Arabian Gulf country of Oman. Never having worked in Pakistan, my research interest has been to explore 1) what kind of English language teachers are emerging from Pakistan and 2) the processes of identity construction of Pakistani teachers.

Studies in Pakistan have focused on Pakistani school teachers' personal and professional narratives and their professional development (Halai, 2001; Rarieya, 2005, 2009; Dean, 2005; Bashiruddin, 2006, 2007). However, at the time of writing, no studies had been conducted in my area of research: Pakistani expatriate teachers of English language, their narratives and identities. There have been studies done in the Arabian Gulf on local English language teachers but not specifically on expatriate Pakistani teachers or Pakistani female expatriate teachers (those who have taught in Pakistan and are teaching in the Arabian Gulf). Empirical studies have been carried out, though, on English language teaching in Omani schools (Al-Issa, 2002) and on English language teaching in the College of Law (Al-Issa, 2007b.), on Emirati female student-teachers of English language (Clarke, 2008) and on tertiary expatriate teachers of English (Zafar, 2011). Besides these studies, many others have been conducted on teachers' identities, beliefs and lives in the wider educational world (Alsup, 2006; Goodson and Sikes, 2001; Plummer, 2001; Elbaz-Luwisch, 2004).

Through interaction with the participants of my study, who I consider, to a certain extent, to be my co-researchers (Dewey, 1933), this reflective study (Schon, 1983, 'reflection on action' and 'reflection in action') will be carried out to highlight teacher identity/professional development. My three teacher-participants come from a similar background to my own. To further one's professional development, one may benefit from using

others with a comparable geographical, cultural, religious and educational background as a point of reference in order to find out how common background factors have played a role in their educational development, in contrast to oneself (see Dewey, 1933 on reflection whilst interacting with others. Also see Goodson and Sikes, 2001).

Personal and professional reflection can be viewed as a thread connecting our experiences as a process through the past and present to our future. As well as being a reflective process, a life history study can "...contribute to the understanding and, thereby, the development of professional practice" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001:57; Clandinin, 1985; Clandinin and Connolly, 1996, 2000; Clandinin, 2007; Clandinin et al., 2009, 2010).

1.2 The Aims of the Study

As teachers, we may begin our careers as a product of the surroundings in which we have lived. The cultural influences which affect us (Bruner, 1990) may be carried with us as cultural baggage to the teaching profession. Furthermore, this may help in finding out how common background factors, if any, have played a role in the educational development (Dewey, 1933 on reflection; see also Goodson and Sikes, 2001) of teachers who come from similar educational backgrounds.

It has been argued that teachers have personal and professional identities that are shaped by their lived experiences (Alsup, 2006; Danielewicz, 2001; Rarieya, 2005, 2009 and Kirk, 2004, 2007). These experiences can be culturally-based processes that depend on the time, place and within various places of learning (Danielewicz, 2001). The process develops from the time the student teacher goes through the teaching programmes, and here the personal knowledge of the self undergoes further identity development.

Alsup (2006) shows, through her empirical study, that identity formation as teacher trainees comes with their own personal views of teaching (Rarieya, 2005, 2009; Kirk, 2004, 2007). Alsup (2006) has also pointed out that in-service teachers create their

discourses about themselves and the world around them through their personal and professionally lived lives. This personal and professional knowledge is carried with individuals as they become teachers (Connelly and Clandinin, 1999, see also Chong et al., 2011). These identity positions are described as *borderline discourses* which “can lead to cognitive, emotional, corporeal change and identity growth” (Alsup, 2006: 36). Bruner (1985) refers to this as a mode of thinking, and a way of knowing that is embedded in the particulars of human experience.

Reflecting on our life experiences may help our identity growth, a process in which our personal and professional lives enmesh. Our identities are embodied and are “present for life and living, partially seen and unseen, relived through narrative retellings and critical junctures of experience” (Gaudelli and Ousley, 2009:931).

Through the telling of experiences and stories such as through life history or narrative methodology, we are able to act reflexively, and through reflection we may be able to make changes to our thinking and future behaviour (Chiu, 2006; Craig, 2009; Graham and Phelps 2003; Schmidt, 2010; Schon, 1983). In this case, we as teachers can reflect on our teaching practices to evaluate ourselves through reflection on our pedagogy (our practical knowledge, see Clandinin, 1985).

1.3 The Significance of the Study

Educational research on the personal and professional lives of female expatriate Pakistani women who teach ESL at a tertiary level is lacking both in Pakistan and Oman. Through the voices of my participants, situated geographically (between Punjab in Pakistan and Oman) and temporally (from 1947 to the present day), Pakistan and Oman might be made more accessible to other researchers through this exploration of teachers’ personal and professional lives so that academics in other universities might be able to have a deeper understanding of the diversity of international students (Sanderson, 2007). South Asia and the Arabian Gulf have very little representation in the international educational arena. It is hoped that my study can add to this dearth of literature on educators belonging to,

and residing in, this part of the world and abroad. The wider context and significance of this study is that of internationalisation as well as its application in in-service professional development courses by highlighting the complex issues connected to individual teachers' identities.

By hearing the accounts (their stories/ reflections) of teachers' developmental stages as learners and as teachers, we may be able to gain insights into how they perceive their own identities as educators at this stage of their lives (Aoki, 2008). Teachers' lives are not disconnected from their personal or instructional lives. Their personal lives affect how they see themselves, and on their effectiveness as teachers, hence making it vital for educationists and researchers to hear what they have to say about themselves (Halse, 2010).

Research Q1: How has the life history and experiences of expatriate Pakistani teachers (of English language) as students in Pakistan, shaped their current identity as expatriate English language teachers?

The more specific questions the study explores are:

RQ.1.a.What were their experiences as learners?

RQ.1.b.What were their experiences as teachers?

RQ.1.c. How do they describe themselves as teachers? What metaphors would they use to describe themselves as teachers?

1.4 Overview of the Study

Chapter 1 has explained the purpose of the study. Chapter 2 will outline the context of the study to inform the readers about a brief history of education in Pakistan (and prior to its separation from India), the status of women in Pakistan and the medium of instruction in schools. Furthermore, it will highlight teaching in Pakistan and the different types of schools that my participants and I attended. In addition, the background of their present teaching context in Oman at GCU will be given. Chapter 3 provides a review of the relevant literature that identifies specific prominent themes related to the concepts that will be examined in my empirical study for the development of the theoretical

framework. Chapter 4 deals with the methodological underpinnings of the study and introduces the research design. Chapter 5 provides portraits of the study's participants and Chapter 6 draws out themes and issues that form the outcome of the analysis of the participants' interviews. Chapter 7 concludes the study and states the implications of the findings for educational policy and practice.

Chapter 2 Context of the Study

2.1 Introduction

A general context of the two countries: Pakistan and Oman will be given in this chapter. My teacher-participants' experiences of learning and teaching within the background of Pakistan will be presented to put their stories in a historical and geographical context. This will be followed by the Omani context where my participants and I are currently working in a tertiary institution - Gulf Coeducational University (GCU - a pseudonym).

2.2 Pakistan: Overview

Pakistan was created for the Muslims of India in 1947 (Talbot, 1998). The founder of the nation, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, wanted the country to be a secular state (ibid). The religious factions of the society from the inception of the country (ibid) have had considerable influence on the ruling parties. Therefore, religion has continued to play a significant role in Pakistani politics to date; this has had an impact on the governance of all social institutions in the country, including the educational and the legal systems (ibid).

Pakistan has a total area of 796,095 square km and a population of 192,288,944 (see Table 1 below) which is an estimate of the 2011 population by the Population Census Organization, Pakistan (Khan, 2012; Government of Pakistan, 2013). The vast majority of the population, 95% is Muslim, and 5% are classified as 'others' according to the Government of Pakistan's website (2013). Figure 1 below shows the map of the Administrative Units (Provinces) of Pakistan. Punjab is the most populous province. As can be seen in Table 1, the literacy rate for women in the country is the highest in Punjab (where my participants and I come from). At 50%, it is more than double the literacy rate of women in Balochistan. The country literacy rate is 57% (both sexes). The Gender Parity Index (GPI), which is the ratio of the literacy of women compared to that of men, is also the highest there, at 0.72, almost double that of Balochistan. The GPI national average is 0.65.

A more detailed map of the cities in Pakistan is given in Figure 2.



Figure 1 Administrative Units of Pakistan, U.N., 2013



Figure 2 Detailed Map of Pakistan, Wikimedia, 2013

	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan	Pakistan
Area (sq. km) [% of total]	205,344 [25.8]	140,914 [17.7]	74,521 [9.4]	347,190 [43.6]	796,095 (incl. 28,126 [3.5] Federal Areas)
Population 2011 [% of total]	91,379,615 [47.5]	55,245,497 [28.7]	26,896,829 [14]	13,162,222 [6.9]	192,288,944 (incl. 5,604,781 [2.9] Federal Areas)
Main language	Punjabi	Sindhi	Pushto	Balochi	
Literacy Rate 2009 Male/Female/Total %	69/50/59	71/45/59	69/31/50	62/23/45	69/45/57
Gender Parity Index (GPI) 2009	0.72	0.63	0.45	0.37	0.65

Table 1 Literacy in Pakistan (Adapted from Khan, 2012; Government of Pakistan, 2013)

2.3 Pakistan: the Institutional Context of Education

A brief account of the institutional context of education in Pakistan is given below.

2.3.i Education Prior to Partition of India in 1947

Prior to the British-styled educational system, education was traditionally linked to the many local Indian religions (Blackwell, 2004). During the British colonial era, the English language and the British educational system were both adopted by India (Viswanathan, 1994). English literature as part of the educational curriculum came into India in 1831 (ibid) and The English Education Act of 1835 gave a legal basis for education through the medium of English (ibid).

In 1834, Macaulay, who was on the Supreme Council of India, was responsible for allotting educational funds to educational institutions in colonial India. Macaulay's (1835) Minute on Education, proposed a tiered educational system where the *majority* would be educated in the "vernacular" languages (i.e. the regional languages) whereas the

minority would be taught English preparing them to become company clerks (Qureshi, 1988) and “turning them into loyalists” (Bhargava and Dutta, 2005: 4). Political authority was to be kept in the hands of the British through this educational system (Zafar, 2006).

The idea to anglicise Indian ‘natives’ was perhaps best put by Macaulay who stated that one of the main aims of the English Education Act of 1835 was to educate certain classes to make a “class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect” (Macaulay 1972:249). English-speaking Indians were to be the new educated ‘breed’ of Indians who would become the Indian ‘elite’ (ibid). Eagleton, (2000) also states that the idea to teach English literature to the Indians was to ‘civilise’ the ‘native’ population.

2.3.ii Pakistan from 1947: Urdu, English and Education

This section will first describe language in Pakistan from a historical perspective and then place the study in the context of the type of schools and schooling environment provided in Pakistan.

Pakistan is a multi-lingual country. Urdu is the national language whereas the official language is English. Both languages have an anomalous position in the country in that they are foreign to the majority of the population. The six major languages spoken as a first language in Pakistan are: Punjabi (44.15% of the population), Pushto (15.42%), Sindhi (14.10%), Siraiki (10.53%), Urdu (7.57%), Balochi (3.57%) and over 50 other less widely spoken languages (4.66%) (‘Pakistan Census 2001’ in Rahman, 2003). English is not mentioned as a separate language in the census. Although English is the official language of Pakistan, it is still a ‘foreign’ language and its use is restricted to tiny elite (Rahman, 2005). According to Khaliq (2006), out of the estimated 160 million people in Pakistan in 2006, only 2 percent were “functional in verbal and written English” (Khaliq, 2006: 109).

At its inception, Pakistan was to be an Islamic state for the Muslims of India and Urdu was given special status as the national language because it had become the official language of the Mughal rule in India during the 1830s when it had replaced Persian (Rassool and Mansoor, 2007; Kazmi, 2009). Urdu, because of its historical significance from Mughal times, was regarded as a symbol of Muslim and national identity (Rassool and Mansoor, 2007). Rassool and Mansoor (2007: 227) argue, "...Urdu is, fundamentally an historical construct of Pakistani nationalism which is grounded in Islamic principles...it has always been central to the political identity of the Pakistani state". Urdu has a similar script and alphabet to Arabic, (the language of the Qur'an) and has been described as an Islamic language (Rahman, 2002, 2007b for a discussion of Urdu as the language of ideology and as an Islamic language).

One factor considered in the making of educational policies at the time of the creation of Pakistan was to counter ethnic and religious divisions (Rahman, 1996, 2002, 2003). Regional languages were perceived as representing these divisions. As a result, Urdu was made compulsory for all as a uniting language, although "only 3.7% of the population in West Pakistan represented Urdu mother tongue speakers" at the time of Partition in 1947 (Rahman, 1996, 1999).

At the same time that Urdu was given 'national language' status, almost two hundred years of British colonial presence in India ensured that the English language would be adopted as the 'official language' (Kazmi, 2009; Rahman, 1996). The pragmatic attitude of Jinnah (the founder of Pakistan) towards English was displayed when he suggested that the pre-partition status quo of English be maintained (Rahman, 1996). This meant that English remained the language of instruction at university level and for internal communication in the government. English is the language of the constitution of the country and all business in its courts of law is conducted in English. Its criminal and penal code is written in English. Urdu and English were chosen as the languages to be spoken in the National Assembly. Most universities use English as the medium of instruction. It was decided to keep English as a subject (as a second language) in

government schools and Urdu as the second language in English medium schools (Rahman, 1996). To reiterate, both languages were not indigenous to the people of the new Pakistan (Talbot, 1998; Kazmi, 2009).

To sum up, English is spoken formally and informally by educated Pakistanis in Pakistan (Malik, 1996; Kazmi, 2009). It is also the official language and the language of business communication, of the armed forces, of science and technology. The use of English in these important areas of the polity reflects the high value given to it. Moreover, students need the language at tertiary level as many overseas universities where they may study have English as the medium of instruction. Professional colleges such as agriculture, engineering, and medicine demand a high level of English competence for academic and professional work (Leithner, 2010).

2.3.iii Schools in Pakistan

This section will briefly outline the major schooling types in Pakistan as related to this study and to the participants of this study. The views of Pakistani educational researchers regarding Pakistani schools will be of particular focus. The ongoing debate over the language used as the medium of instruction in schools and its relation to Pakistani identity in these schools will be investigated. All these ideas are of particular relevance to my study as Pakistan is a multilingual society and the Pakistani participants of my study (including myself) are multilingual and have been schooled in Pakistan between the 1950s and 1980s.

2.3.iv English and Urdu-Medium Schools

English-medium schools in Pakistan are of two major types: (a) state-sponsored fee-paying schools and private fee-paying schools (for ‘elite’ schools, see Rahman, 1996, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a); (b) other privately operated establishments, such as family-run schools (Zafar, 2006).

The fee-paying private English-medium schools are of two types. These include both the Christian missionary convent private schools (Zafar, 2006), and non-Missionary schools which are run along the lines of British public schools as an inertical legacy of British colonial rule (Rahman, 2004a). These types of schools are regarded as ‘elite’ schools by Rahman and are tiered according to the education they provide. In these private schools, students may speak English as their first language (Rahman, 2001; Malik, 1996). This may vary according to socio-economic family background, and/or the region where the schools are located. These schools have existed from the time of British rule in India and “the most Anglicized senior members of the [Pakistani] elite are from such schools” (Rahman, 2004a: 59). Those educated in English-medium schools are culturally apart from the majority of the population and so are, “foreigners in their own country” (Rahman 2004a:71).

In the first two decades after the partition of India and the end of British colonial rule, Urdu, Islamic Studies and Pakistan studies were not a compulsory part of the ‘elite’ English-medium school curriculum. Rahman asserts that pupils attending these schools during the 1950s and 1960s (during the period of my schooling in one of these types of schools in Lahore) “...may have been more Westernised” than pupils attending ‘elite’ schools today (Rahman, 2001: 251; Zubair, 2003, 2006). This previously Westernised curriculum of English-medium schools has undergone changes since that time due to government interventions.

English literature is taught via a corpus of classical English texts (Shah, 2008; Rahman, 2001). Shah (2008) asserts that this as a “legacy of colonial times” (Shah, 2008: 7; Cummings, 2002). In order for the learners to engage with the texts, it is necessary to have a context that the students can relate to (Alexander, 2001. For EFL learning, see Widdowson, 1979; Nunan, 1989; Richards and Rogers, 2001). However, the world being portrayed through this type of literature is of a life quite alien to Pakistani schoolchildren (Rahman, 2001).

Students attending Urdu-medium schools, which are run by the government and do not charge a high fee, are taught English as a second language through locally written textbooks (Rahman, 2004a; Mansoor, 2004, 1993; Malik 1996). These students are at a disadvantage with regard to proficiency in English. As a result, their access to higher education where the medium of instruction is English, is limited (Malik, 1996; Leithner, 2010. For class division and its relationship to schools see Brown and Lauder, 2001; Calhoun et al., 1993; Bourdieu, 1999, 2001).

Zafar's empirical study reveals that students coming from government (Urdu-medium) schools are considered second-class citizens and even "as inferior human beings" (Zafar, 2006: 63). Urdu-medium schools are also viewed as 'rustic' (Sabiha, 2004: 41; Rahman, 2004a: 72) or 'third-rate' when compared to English-medium schools (Shah, 2008).

2.3.v Teaching Practices and Methodologies in Pakistan

Teacher training is lacking amongst school teachers in Pakistan. This may account for traditional teaching methods still being used (Ali, 2011). These teachers may be using the traditional methods they were taught by and use the rote-learning method (Halai, 2005; Rahman, 2004a). Halai further asserts that students in Pakistan hold the teachers' word as 'the gospel truth' (Halai, 2001). Teachers, for their part, may believe that the students are empty vessels (Dean, 2005; Rarieya, 2005, 2009). Some teachers may think that doing their job means only having to comply and abide by the rules set by the system to prepare pupils to pass exams (ibid).

Teacher-centred methods can further be seen as reinforcing teachers' authority, rather than appealing to logic and reason that is used to decide on a 'right' or 'wrong' answer in the classroom situation (Halai, 2009: 38). It was also observed that, although at times during teaching, activities were initiated by the teacher to encourage rational thinking and discussion in a class rather than just accepting the teacher's answer, it was usually the teachers' authority and the textbook that were used to verify an answer (Halai, 2009).

2.3.vi Summary on Teacher Training in Pakistan

Literature in the field of education has shown that teachers' attitudes towards teaching, and the teaching methods used, as well as the attitudes of students, are all significant components of educational praxis (Halai, 2005; Stables, 2003; Ramsden, 1992; Marton et al., 1993). Educationists researching teachers in the Pakistani educational system have found traditional methods of teaching and learning (by rote, authoritative rather than cooperative) to be prevalent (Rarieya, 2005, 2009; Dean, 2009; Kirk, 2007).

Studies have also shown that teachers may begin their careers without undergoing professional teacher training or being very poorly trained (Retalick and Mithani, 2003; Dean, 2009; Kirk, 2007). Female teachers very often have to balance their personal and professional lives, and for some young graduates, teaching is a 'default' occupation whilst they search for other, better-paying jobs. This appears to be commonplace in English-medium private schools, which leads to a lack of permanent staff members due to these transient teachers (Zafar, 2006).

2.4 Pakistan – the Sociocultural Context of Education

The discussion about the sociocultural context of education will be limited to the position of women as regards education.

2.4.i Status of Women in Pakistan

Women as part of Pakistani society are placed in their historical, cultural and religious context to illuminate how females may be socially positioned in Pakistan. Religion and cultural context are critically significant factors in providing a framework within which the 'learning and teaching' of the expatriate participants could be understood.

Ever since independence in 1947, Pakistan has used the British legal system. However, some amendments have been made to it to meet the Constitutional Requirement of 1973, which stipulated that the existing laws have to be in accordance with and a conformity to the Qur'an (the Muslim Holy Book), and *Sunnah* (the teachings of the Holy Prophet).

Article 25 of the 1973 Constitution guarantees equality of rights to all citizens irrespective of gender or creed (Jilani, 2003).

A female child is normally considered a burden on the family resources, as she is not expected to share the same responsibilities of the family as a male member from the economic point of view (Patel, 2003). However, in urban areas, some women, belonging to upper- or upper-middle class families, may have more access to education and to employment opportunities of their choice (Asian Development Bank, 2008). Although women from rural areas may have fewer opportunities, there are exceptions, as Haeri's study (2004) has shown in her ethnographic study of six professional Pakistani women. These women, from urban and rural areas have challenged the status quo by entering into areas of employment that have traditionally been male-dominated (ibid).

Khan (2003) describes three critical historical periods in Pakistan for women after the division of the Indian sub-continent in 1947. The first period (1946-1970) she calls the "Initial Years" when women were "granted the right to educational, political and economic participation" (Khan, 2003: 172). The second critical period is referred to as "Impetus for Women" (1971-1977) and was a period of progress for women who were encouraged to be a part of the government (ibid). The period from 1977-1988, Khan describes as a "Period of Reversals" (ibid). Once the military general Zia-ul-Haq (late 1970s and 80s) took over as President, the process of political 'Islamisation' began in Pakistan (Jahangir and Jilani, 2003; Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987). During the process of the 'Islamisation' of Pakistan, Zia-ul-Haq (1979-1988) brought in the *Hudood Ordinances* which were endorsed in 1979 to accord women "protection". In effect, however, this did not happen and instead of protecting women, the implementation of these laws disadvantaged them (Talbot, 1998; Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987).

Malala Yousafzai, winner of the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize, a young Pakistani girl from a rural area, has made global headlines for her fight for the right of girls' education (Yousafzai and Lamb, 2014). She was shot by Taliban gunmen on the 9th of October

2012 to prevent her, and other girls, from studying (BBC, 2013). It portrays the courage and determination of this young girl to continue her struggle despite threats to her life. A further significant factor is the support she has had from her father who, in this case, shows the changing attitudes of people even in rural, tribal Pakistan.

2.5 Pakistan – the Participants’ Context

Two of the participants of my study and I attended English-medium schools and one attended an Urdu-medium school. These two types of schools are generally researched by scholars in Pakistan in order to investigate the type of education (curriculum, textbooks, medium of instruction, types of teachers, methodology, levels of training) being provided by these institutions (Rahman, 1999, 2004a; Zia, 2007).

Jesus and Mary’s Convent in Lahore is one of the elite schools (Rahman, 2004a). I attended it in the 1950s and Fatima also attended the same school, although in Fatima’s time in the late 1960s and early 1970s the school had adopted a national curriculum where there was greater emphasis on Urdu, the national language, and Islamic Studies.

2.6 Oman: Overview

The Sultanate of Oman is a country in the Arabian Gulf. It has a population of 3,999,190 (National Centre for Statistics and Information, 2014), of which 44.2% are expatriates and 55.8% Omanis. It has a surface area of 309,500 square kilometres (World Bank). It is a hereditary monarchy and is ruled by Sultan Qaboos who is the head of state (Country Report Oman, 2015). The country’s economy is based mainly on oil (ibid). The majority of Omanis are Arab, Ibadhi Muslims, and have a tribal culture (there are no Omani Christians). The tribal ties are hierarchically based on family and tribal connections. The national language is Omani Arabic, which is close to standard Arabic (ibid). The Sultan of Oman has valued English and has used it as a tool to advance the country by adopting English as one of its foreign language to progress this developing country (Al-Issa and Al- Belushi, 2012). Omanis are motivated to learn English for mobility, higher education locally or abroad and for the business world (Al-Issa 2002, 2007b).

In rural and urban areas, women and men share work on the farms or women mend nets while men go fishing. Although men and women normally interact and work together, it is still customary for women to be chaperoned when they go out shopping or visiting (Countries and their Cultures – Oman). Women in villages do not wear an abaya (a black cloak) over their normal clothes as they do in the cities. Men's clothing consists of a long, ankle-length shirt called a *thawb* or *dishdashah*. Both men and women have a head covering. The dress of both men and women reflects their affiliation to a certain region in the country (ibid). Conformity in dress and behaviour are formally and informally enforced (Country Report Oman, 2015).

2.7 Oman: the Institutional Context of Education

A brief account of the institutional context of education in Oman is given below.

Public government schools in Oman are non-fee paying. These schools are run by the Omani government and are single sex: boys and girls attend separate schools. These schools mainly cater for Omani nationals. The medium of instruction is Arabic and the schools follow an Islamic curriculum. Those expatriates who are non-Muslim might face a problem enrolling their children in these schools (ibid). However, there are a number of private English-medium schools catering for expatriate children but the fees in these schools are exorbitant. Expatriates moving to Oman are advised to check if school fees are included in their salary (ibid).

Oman opened its first university in 1986 (GCU – a pseudonym). It follows a combination of American and English models of higher education. It is a coeducational institute where there are separate walkways for male and female students. The male students normally sit in front of the class (although this trend is changing and students have started sitting in segregated halves of the classroom) and the female students enter from the back entrance of the classroom.

GCU is one of the oldest tertiary English-medium institutes in the country. However, some subjects are taught in Arabic. There are 9 colleges in this institution: Agriculture and Marine Sciences, Arts and Social Sciences, Economics and Political Science, Education, Engineering, Law, Medicine and Health Sciences, Nursing, and Science. These colleges are staffed by international male and female teaching staff as well as Omani members of staff who hold international Masters and doctoral degrees (SQU). In line with modern thinking as regards a knowledge economy, the aim of the university is to produce well-informed citizens who can contribute to the development of the country (ibid).

Students enter university after completing their high-school education of 12 years. Most of them are from government-run Arabic-medium schools (Schools and Education in Oman). The majority of the students at GCU are Omani nationals. There are very small numbers of expatriate undergraduate students who are fee-paying, whereas national undergraduate students do not pay fees. Post-graduate students, mainly at Masters level, whether national or expatriate, are fee-paying (ibid).

The schools in Oman have been criticised for teaching and assessing memorisation (Al-Toubi, 1998 and Al-Issa, 2005b) and encouraging rote-learning rather than deep thinking. The examinations made by the Ministry of Education are directly related to the content of the textbooks. These were not testing deep-learning or analytical thinking. This is the reason the students' English skills are weak in school and they graduate with these skills scoring high grades but low English and study skills (Al-Issa 2010b; Al-Toubi, 1998). Such students are ill-equipped for university (ibid).

All entry-level students to GCU have to be tested and brought to a certain level of English language proficiency before they can go to their colleges as English is the medium of instruction in 6 of the 9 colleges – only Arts and Social Sciences, Law and Education are Arabic-medium.

My three participants and I are teaching in a language centre where all high school graduates come at the beginning of the academic year and sit an English Placement Test. They are streamed according to their English language proficiency into six levels of the Foundation Programme of English Language (FPEL). Those who score highly at Level 6 are given the Exit English Test. If they pass this test, they enter the Credit Programme of English Language (CPEL). English credit courses are taught according to the students' areas of specialisation. The CPEL courses are English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses in the 6 English medium colleges according to the college requirement (reference withheld for anonymity).

2.8 Oman: the Sociocultural Context of Education

Students are very respectful towards the teachers of both genders. The in-class interaction between male and female students is very limited as they have originally come from single-sex schools. 'Face-saving' is very important and students hesitate to engage in class discussions for fear of making a mistake (based on my participants' and my experience). Expatriate teachers, especially the ones I interviewed, have often described the students as very limited in their general knowledge of the world as they belong to an oral culture. Therefore, they are "speakers" rather than "readers". These are the impressions of expatriate teachers about Omani students (Rajasekar and Renand, 2013).

2.9 Oman: the Participants' Context

Class sizes are normally between 20 -24 students. Fatima and I teach CPEL (credit courses) whereas Tehmina teaches FPEL and CPEL courses and Afshaan teaches only FPEL (Foundation non-credit) students. All of us are in the English Language Centre but all four of us teach students belonging to different colleges.

The students study English language because it supports their content courses in their respective colleges. The faculty professors use commercial English textbooks which are used in English-speaking countries for tertiary level students. In the CPEL, the job of the English language teachers is to teach them English language skills for Reading, Writing,

Listening and Speaking. The Language Centre uses both commercial textbooks and in-house materials prepared by the teaching staff. Self-study is emphasised, so students are expected to cover certain language skills which are on Moodle. The teachers communicate with the students via Moodle by using the Group or Section forum. Wiggio is also used to have “live” communication with the students but Moodle is more commonly used.

The trend of teaching is towards 21st century skills and blended-learning (using media and text books). The students are encouraged to be critical thinkers and independent learners, so the assessments are geared towards the application, evaluation and creation of knowledge rather than its memorisation.

At the time of writing, my 3 participants and I are expatriate English language teachers teaching in Oman at the tertiary level. All expatriate teachers are hired on a contractual basis of three years at our institute with a 6 months’ notice period for renewal/non-renewal/termination. It is contractually stipulated that religion and politics are areas whose public discussion is prohibited (SQU). The university prides itself in keeping up-to-date with the latest technology to enhance teaching. There is institutional support for faculty as regards educational technology and this includes computers and projectors in classrooms and lecture theatres. There is an extensive library which subscribes to international journals in subjects relevant to those taught at the university. The university encourages research and offers yearly conference grants (ibid).

Summary of Chapter 2

The literature reviewed in this Chapter (2) on Schooling in Pakistan has explored the different school systems and has highlighted the issues surrounding the medium of instruction and its impact on Pakistani identity in a multilingual society where Urdu and English are the national and official languages respectively and are thus dominant languages in Pakistan (Mansoor, 1993, 2002; Sabiha, 2004; Rahman, 2004b).

A small minority are fluent in English, and those attending English-medium schools are at an advantage to continue with their tertiary education which improves their chances of being more socially and professionally mobile (Rahman, 2001, 2004a, 2005b; Ahmed, 1999; Malik, 1996; Sullivan, 2007). This is significant to my study as all three participants of my study attended schools which emphasised proficiency in English.

A brief background to the setting of GCU has been given in order to understand the context in which the participants of my study (and I) are working in a coeducational university.

In the following Chapter (3), the literature review related to my study as well as its conceptual framework will be presented.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a critical survey of the theoretical framework related to my research. The focus of the previous chapter was on Pakistan and on the different types of schools there, and also on Oman where my participants and I work. This information was presented in order to give a more detailed background of the educational and professional context of the participants of my study.

The aim of this chapter is to see how personal and professional identities could be structured over a period of time after various life experiences. This is significant in order to provide a theoretical background for my study which involves my participants' life and teaching trajectories. This will serve as a lens through which to view the other aspects of my thesis.

Bourdieu's theories of 'capital' (1986, 2001) will be discussed and critiqued and a rationale will be provided for applying this theory to my research. Language and culture, which is also a major theme of my study, will be discussed and the ways in which they could have interacted to have an impact on my participants' identity formation, as individuals and as teachers, will also be explored.

The idea of Pakistani identity will also be discussed in light of various identity theories.

3.2 Identity Theory – a Brief Overview

Identity is composed of many stories, personal, social and professional. Any study of identity views identity as constructed over time, and in interaction with others (Woodward, 2002).

3.2.i Symbolic Interactionism

Cooley (1902) posited a concept of identity and of the self in the form of "the looking glass self" where the stable, unitary self develops through interpersonal interactions and

the perceptions of others. Mead (1934) further explored and advanced the idea of Cooley's essential self being mediated through social interactions which are embodied in language and experience. In this view, identity is developed through language used in different communicative experiences, where the "I" is the essential self that responds to the "me" which is the social self. Mead's idea is taken a step further by Goffman (1959) where the idea of the self represents the complexity of human existence and each person possesses a multiplicity of selves (Burke and Stets, 2009; Harré 1998), each of which comes into play and "acts" on the front stage (publicly) and on the back stage (privately) in a certain context of time, place or circumstance. Ball (1972) separates Goffman's idea of a contingent self into two, the 'situated' self and the 'substantive' self. The situated self of a teacher when she speaks about her teaching experiences is 'teacher', whereas her substantive self, the identity core, is 'I/me'. Therefore, a duality of identity is shown through the professional (teacher) and the personal (I/me) selves (ibid).

The work of Cooley (1902), Mead (1934) and Goffman (1959) represent aspects of the symbolic interactional theory of identity where identity can further develop through social interaction and where specifically social structure is instrumental in forming our identities (Stryker, 1980, 2002) (cited in Burke and Stets, 2009). This theory states that individuals live within a social structure and "occupy multiple roles" and multiple identities amongst other individuals (Burke and Stets, 2009:3; Goffman, 1959). The focus therefore is not on viewing a person as having a singular identity, but rather, "[t]he self is much more complex given the many roles, groups, and characteristics that it can claim" (Burke and Stets, 2009: 212). In addition, identities, "are more fluid and hybrid. The complexity of society is mirrored in the complexity of identity – the shifting performance of how we present ourselves to others and the range of people that we regard as "one of us" (Gilchrist et al., 2010). This drives home our awareness of the various positions one individual occupies according to his or her roles in a certain social situation. Since we use language to interact with others, the central role of language, in all aspects of our life and the signs and symbols it represents in a given society, means that it has an impact on the

identity of a person (Mead, 1934, Sullivan, 2007; Mansoor, 2005; Rahman, 2001, 2004a; Aziz, 2002; Mazuri, 1975a; Phillipson, 1992; Canagarajah, 1999).

The symbolic interaction framework views human beings as active participants in their identity formation, rather than passive in relation to their social context. A person's sense of self is continually formed through interactions with others, and also through self-interaction or reflection.

3.2.ii Harré - Identity/Positioning

In order to understand how individuals/my participants view themselves, it is important to try to understand their narratives through Harré's (1998) psycho-social framework of identity formation which connects his conception of selves to personhood.

Harré presents an exposition of his views on personhood and elaborates on what he calls his "standard model" of a person (which is comprised of Self 1, Self 2, and Self 3. (Harré, 1998: 9). In Harré's Self 1, individuals identify or 'position' themselves with their given name, their gender, the language they speak, the country they are born in, the surroundings they grow up in, their neighbourhood and school. These aspects of an individual's positioning go towards making up his/her worldviews (Harré, 1998).

The 'standard model' of a person is viewed as "a complicated patchwork of ever-changing personal attributes and relations" (Harré, 1998: 2), comprises three different selves which "are ... produced discursively, that is in dialogue" (ibid: 68). In this way according to Harré, (1998) a person is quite precariously poised and multifaceted, and, as viewed in symbolic interactionism social theory, the composition of a person's identity is partially dependent on the reactions of others and interactions with others. Self 1 is expressed in the first person pronoun and its inflexions (ibid). Self 1 would be the essential self that is posited by the symbolic interactionist theories of Cooley, Mead and Goffman.

Harré suggests that individuals learn to speak in terms of "I" (ibid: 28) and also use a certain speech pattern that teaches them to think of themselves as this inner 'I', or what he has termed Self 1. He considers the utilisation of personal pronouns for this "inner...perceiver and actor" (Harré, 1998:83) as, "the reification of the unique personal point of view" (ibid: 81).

Self 2 is reflected in what one believes about oneself in terms of characteristics, and represents "the totality of personal attributes" (Harré, 1998:8). Self 2 is regarded as changing continuously, and is considered "inherently unstable" due to changing self-concepts and what is true about oneself due to personal reflection (Harré, 1998; Day et al., 2006). This is the self which is shaped and re-shaped by our storyline while reflecting on our past. This is the self of disposition, and reflections of past situations. However, being subjective, the reflective self may not necessarily present 'accurate' or 'true' aspects of a person's selfhood because it represents what one thinks about oneself.

Self 3 is "the way we seem as persons to others" (Harré, 1998: 9) and "the personality and character" presented when dealing "with real and imagined others" (ibid). It is expressed in social action and interaction and consists of the ways in which the attributes of Self 2, the reflective self, come across in the context of social interaction.

According to Davies and Harré (1990), when interacting with others during the discursive process, two types of positioning take place: interactive and reflexive (Harré's Self 3). When we interact and react verbally or physically, we position ourselves in roles we are expected to play or that we choose to play. This can be done via the languages one speaks. Therefore, using Harré's argument, languages give more than one 'pre-determined form' to a person. This concept is related to the participants of my study who are multilingual.

Harré's conceptions of Self 2 (reflection) and Self 3 (interaction) will be of significance during the interviews with my participants in how my participants view themselves as learners and teachers.

Harré's multi-layered understanding of personhood could be helpful in understanding how individuals position themselves in life in making personal (in their private lives) and public (how they interact socially) choices. One's identity is not fixed but continually changing - a work in progress and positions are "nothing but clusters of rights, duties and obligations" (Harré and Slocum 2003: 128). Harré defines a person as "the socially defined, publicly visible embodied being, endowed with all kinds of powers and capacities for public, meaningful action" (Harré, 1983: 26) which mitigate against the self being a static entity. Instead, a person is viewed as an active participant in his/her own life, and not solely a recipient of socially defined and predetermined roles.

According to symbolic interactional social theory and also Harré's theories of personhood consisting of the three selves, social context and interaction are significant aspects of identity. Social norms and expectations help to define a person's social roles. Thus, identities can be viewed as social and multi-dimensional and are "never a final or settled matter" (Jenkins, 2008: 17). Day et al.'s (2006) research with 300 teachers in 100 schools, finds that identity is "neither intrinsically stable nor intrinsically fragmented" (ibid: 601). Instead, social context is crucial in determining how an individual may actively identify him/herself personally and professionally.

3.3 Teacher Identity

Identity development continues when an individual begins a professional career such as teaching. In a study by Pillen et al. (2013), 182 beginner teachers in the Netherlands experienced tensions which had an impact on their professional identity development. Pillen et al.'s study summarises the importance of reflection on the part of the teachers while in training so that a support system could be built into the teacher training programme to help them better deal with the learning and teaching situation. Another

study was conducted in Estonia, also on beginner teachers' emotions, which found that it is essential to learn what positive or negative impact teaching-related experiences can have on professional identity formation (Timostsuk and Ugaste, 2012) so that teacher training programmes could be improved from their reflective experiences. "Instructional, personal, and social factors" (Gur, 2015: 195) were mainly responsible for having a great impact on Turkish language teachers' and elementary school teachers' identity development. Bullough Jr, (2015) mentions that teachers' evolving identities have an impact on the students they are teaching and so there is a need to have a better understanding of teachers' personal lives, for example, having a baby, getting divorced or a change in their teaching position.

It can be seen according to the literature on identity given above, that teacher identity is constructed of both professional incidents and personal experiences (Gu and Benson, 2014; Bullough Jr, 2015; Day et al., 2006) These may impact one another and influence the kinds of teachers they try to become (ibid).

To reiterate, according to Day et al. (2006) teachers' identities can be different yet connecting, where "teachers will define themselves not only through their past and current identities as defined by personal and social histories and current roles but through their beliefs and values about the kind of teacher they hope to be in the inevitably changing political, social, institutional and personal circumstances" (Day et al., 2006: 610). The concept of identity as a unified and stable essence (Cooley, 1902) has been elaborated as mentioned above. Personhood may comprise multiple aspects, such as Harré's three (Harré, 1998; Day et al., 2006) and these multiple aspects of personhood come into play while in interaction with others.

A study undertaken with expatriate teachers in an Omani university on teacher motivation (Zafar, 2011) found that those teachers (from a variety of international backgrounds) felt that having a say, or being included and heard as members of the teaching staff, would help their motivational level in doing a better job. Such teachers' personal lives or

biographies might have affected their professional identities especially because of working in another cultural environment (Prieur and Savage, 2011). As “identities are a shifting amalgam of personal biography, culture, social influence and institutional values which may change according to role and circumstances” (Day et al, 2006: 613), personal and professional challenges faced while working abroad and in a new cultural environment with international and local colleagues and local students may have an impact on teacher identity. Many expatriate teachers may face an unstable work environment due to, for instance, job insecurity, short-term teaching contracts, or geo-political instability. Despite these instabilities, however, according to Day et al. (2006: 614), “neither stability nor instability will necessarily affect their effectiveness” as teachers. Teacher’s responses to these instabilities may be varied and dependent on their individual experiences (Zafar, 2011).

In brief we can say that identity is a process and not a product. It is something that starts when we are born which continues to change as we grow older and start a profession (Gur, 2013). “This professional identity develops and changes based on the impact of time, place and society” (Gur, 2013: 195). Being born in a certain house or being exposed to certain conditions (Grimshaw and Sears, 2008) is what Bourdieu (2001) also suggests has an impact on our identity.

3.4 Bourdieu - Cultural Capital and Identity

Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital was an attempt to explain the inequalities in French society in 1960, and education was to be used to reduce such inequalities (Dubois, 2011). Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991, 2001) is the acquisition of social assets through inheritance and socialisation. Social assets may include dress, behaviour and most importantly for this study, family background (social status), education and language.

Bourdieu (1986, 2001) distinguishes three forms of cultural capital: the *embodied*, the *objectified* and the *institutionalised*. The embodied state is what an individual inherits inadvertently through osmosis (through socialisation within the immediate social

surroundings, such as the family). Rather than referring to material goods, Bourdieu's conception of the embodied state, refers instead to the cultural surroundings, which include language and traditions. These influences attained by the individual may have an effect on how the individual thinks and acts, which is what Bourdieu (ibid) refers to as the *habitus*.

A person's habitual patterns of thought are determined by their 'habitus', which is a set of culturally-determined 'bodily dispositions' to think, feel and act in certain ways (Bourdieu, 1986, 2001). It is an individually operationalised set of beliefs, expectations and understandings based on the sum total of experiences (both individual and collective) of a given individual. This set of cognitive elements then shapes the individual's sense of interacting with the world by making up the 'rules' of the game in the 'field'. A 'field' is a site where individuals in their social positions are located. These positions are formed by the relationship between the social norms on the one hand, and the individual's habitus and capital on the other. Interactions are thus regulated through the habitus within a field. Habitus is both unintentionally constructed and may also be deliberately put into practice (Bourdieu, 2001; Wilkes, 1990; Webb et al., 2002).

It is argued by Bourdieu (1986, 2001), that cultural capital is created from within an individual's environment. Talent and ability are embodied in such individuals because of their cultural capital - the time and money invested in them by their parents. Thus, the children of parents who themselves began life with their own cultural capital, may be in more of a position to reproduce such capital, the habitus, from generation to generation.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (2007) emphasize the importance of the composition of an individual's overall capital made up of cultural, economic and social capital. This is further mediated by the 'position-taking' of individuals (ibid: 99), that is, how they strategise to employ their capital.

Embodied capital is considered by Bourdieu (1986, 2001) as non-transmittable, as what an individual has acquired through socialisation in the forms of culture (ways of thinking) and language. It is unique to that particular individual. Language can be seen as the acquisition of linguistic capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990), consciously or unconsciously learnt from one's immediate surroundings as a means of expressing oneself through communication.

The second type of cultural capital, in its objectified state, is represented by material goods. This includes such physical objects as, paintings, artefacts, instruments and collections of books. These can be acquired either through material or economic transactions. The purpose of such material acquisitions (such as a highly prized painting for instance) may be to symbolically enhance one's embodied capital. However, according to Bourdieu (1986, 2001), the individuals acquiring the object in order to increase their social capital, may not necessarily possess the cultural knowledge accompanying it – this knowledge must be learned.

The third and final state is cultural capital in its institutionalised form (Bourdieu, 1986, 2001). This is found in the form of academic credentials and qualifications which, in an official capacity, confer value, respect and power upon the individual within society and also for the job market which, in a sense, allows economic capital to be converted into cultural capital (ibid).

Bourdieu (1986, 2001) suggests that all types of capital can be originally derived from economic capital. However, it is not possible to completely reduce them to an economic form. Cultural capital may still be embodied, with or without financial advantages. As mentioned above, embodied capital may be described as learning cultural traditions through socialisation over a period of time. Therefore these forms of capital may be socially inherited even if economic capital is lacking. Bourdieu (1986) focuses on how cultural capital is responsible for reproducing the already hierarchical structures of the existing capital: economic, cultural, social and symbolic.

The effectiveness of social or cultural capital is sustainable according to Bourdieu (1986, 2001). This is because cultural capital can be converted into economic capital, just as economic capital can be converted into cultural capital. However, the relationship of cultural capital to economic capital may remain concealed because the rates of exchange may vary. It is easier to transfer economic capital from generation to generation, because it is more concrete than cultural capital. It can be stored or transferred more easily, thus making it particularly useful in continuing the process of reproducing class legitimacy and class domination over time. However, cultural capital also functions as a major factor in class definition since it has the ability to be converted and reproduced by itself, through the educational system which creates a market for it, where certificates can be converted into currency through better-paying employment (ibid). Bourdieu's theorising of forms of capital has been useful for exploring the role of capital, assets and resources in the study of social stratification (Savage et al., 2000).

3.5 Critique of Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Capital

Culture is defined by the 'dominant' classes (Bourdieu, 2001). This is a critical aspect of Bourdieu's interpretation of culture. He defines this aspect of the dominant class in a society as the 'way to do things', and his model of society and social relations has its roots in Marxist theories of class and conflict. He typifies social relations in the context of what he calls the 'field', which he defines as a competitive system of social relations functioning according to its own specific reasons and/or rules. The field is a site where the struggle for power between the dominant and subordinate classes takes place (see Gunn, 2005).

Class and social structures are not necessarily fixed entities, and may be more nuanced than Bourdieu's theorisation regarding cultural capital suggests. Bourdieu has been criticised for not taking into account the complex ambiguities and differences in people's positioning (Bennett et al., 2009). A further criticism of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is that his theory was derived from his study of class distinctions in France in the

1960s (as mentioned above), and therefore may only be seen to be applicable to that particular location and historical time period. The extensive studies undertaken by Prieur and Savage (2011), who utilised Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital and applied it comparatively to Denmark and Britain, show that the definition of cultural capital may differ from country to country and from one time period to another. They emphasise the need for "...comparative and historical research" (Prieur and Savage, 2011: 569) in order to present a cross-cultural view of social life. Prieur and Savage (2011) describe Bourdieu's theory as a relational (Bourdieu, 1998) and relative one where, for example, what is fashionable in one country may not be fashionable in another. Therefore, universal standards cannot be attained using this theory, as perceptions differ according to the societal and historical context.

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, which he applied to French society in the 1960s, was perhaps not supposed to be used as a yardstick to measure other societies and other time periods. Even in the French situation, to which his studies referred, the social fields (such as tastes in art) were changeable and relational. For instance, what was popular within elite culture at one time, would not necessarily remain so (Bourdieu, 1998). Empirical studies can be used to shed light on these conceptions. Thus, Bourdieu's conceptions are not absolutist, but instead, relational, and once cultural capital is defined before being utilised, it may be applied to a variety of contexts (Prieur and Savage, 2011).

Gunn (2005) acknowledges that whilst Bourdieu's conceptions may be Franco-centric (which was acknowledged by Bourdieu himself), they are still very much applicable to middle-class identities of nineteenth-century Britain. Gunn (2005) applied Bourdieu's notions of culture, as well as of cultural capital, to the middle classes in nineteenth century Britain. He finds these theories relevant because, "...the reproduction of social position and inherited cultural capital as [sic] of greater importance than mobility or change" (ibid: 63). This exemplifies the adaptability of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital which was used to explain social stratification in this particular context.

Although, as mentioned above, Bourdieu's theories were formulated whilst studying French society in the 1960s (Bourdieu, 1986), they still appear to hold relevance, and have been applied, to other societies and other time periods. As can be seen from the above mentioned articles (Prieur and Savage, 2011; Gunn, 2005) these theories (for instance, of cultural capital) have been applied to analyse the social structure of contemporary Danish and British society (Prieur and Savage, 2011), and also, in Gunn's study (2005), nineteenth century Britain. In addition, Bourdieu's theory of habitus has also been applied to rural Pakistan in Arnot and Naveed's recent (2014) study which is focussed on social, educational and gender interactions of Punjabi families living in a rural area in Pakistan. They use Bourdieu's (1986) concept of gendered habitus as they found his work on gender and habitus in the rural Algerian context to be applicable to rural Pakistan. However, they extend Bourdieu's conception of gendered habitus, and instead use the term "rural family habitus" (Arnot and Naveed, 2014: 208). They mention their caveats regarding the application of Bourdieu's theories, as his theories may be regarded as "static" (ibid) views of society and more focused on the individual (person) than collective (family). Despite these reservations however, they still find Bourdieu's theory to be useful to conceptually frame their study about family habitus in rural Pakistan because of Bourdieu's idea of relationalism which allows for changes within society, in this case through education (Arnot and Naveed, 2014; Bourdieu, 1998; Prieur and Savage, 2011).

In my study of Pakistani English language teachers, Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 2001) will be applied to the Pakistani context. My participants' narratives inform us of the advantages they had in their social and professional positions because of the cultural, economic and linguistic capital their families possess.

3.6 Conceptual Framework

This study is supported by Bourdieu's theories of cultural and linguistic capital which gives some families more of an advantage in life than others and also by Harre's (1998), Gu and Benson's (2014), and Prieur and Savage's (2011) theories that identities are not

stable (Day et al, 2006) but changeable and that personhood is an active process. This trajectory of personhood is an amalgamation of personal and professional experiences.

In Pakistan, because English possesses a certain cachet in society, individuals with knowledge of English can be said to possess more linguistic capital than those that use Urdu and the regional languages (Rahman, 2002, Ahmed 1999, Malik, 1996, Sabiha, 2004). Linguistic capital is an embodiment of cultural capital which exhibits the importance of a language in society in terms of social and economic mobility (Bourdieu, 1991, 2001). Language is not only a means of communication, but also a mechanism of symbolic power.

The social stratification of society, and its maintenance through language, has been analysed by Bourdieu (1991, 2001) and his ideas can be applied to the Pakistani context. His social theory offers a way to examine the relationship between language and social stratification. Bourdieu's (2001) notion of capital goes beyond its usual economic conception that emphasises material exchanges. As mentioned above, there are different forms of capital that can be acquired, exchanged, and converted into other forms. Bourdieu explains that there are inherent forms of capital - cultural and symbolic - distributed differently in the social world, and the understanding of these intrinsic types is a prerequisite vital to our understanding of the structure and functions of the social world. Cultural capital is represented in the collection of non-economic entities such as social class, family background, schooling and academic success.

As mentioned above, Prieur and Savage's (2011) article utilises Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital in their study of Denmark and France. Two European countries are being compared, which are more similar culturally, than Pakistan is to France and especially the France of the 1960s when Bourdieu's ideas of cultural capital were first proposed (1986, 2001). However, Bourdieu's ideas, although meant to be applied to French society, can be made relevant to the Pakistani context, especially with regard to the linguistic capital

(Bourdieu, 1991). The social stratification of society, and its maintenance through language, as analysed by Bourdieu (1991), can be applied to the Pakistani context.

The concept of linguistic capital can be elaborated further by an understanding of Bourdieu's terms (2001) of 'cultural capital' and 'habitus' (as mentioned above). Members of families with political and economic power and status may study in 'elite' private schools that further develop the culture of such individuals through the educational philosophy and the curriculum of such schools (Rahman, 2002; Mansoor, 2004). All these can be considered part of cultural capital, and may be advantageous for those who have been born into the 'right' background (Piper and Garratt, 2004).

Bourdieu's theory of capital needs to be used with prudence when using it in the Pakistani context as it is a conception developed for the French context of the time. This caveat has been emphasised by Arnot and Naveed (2014) who state that using Bourdieu's notion of habitus when one is analysing a non-European context, one may fail to take into account the developmental process that can take place in a country. The social positions of families and individuals within that family can change by utilising education to gain social mobility and financial independence. In the Punjabi (Pakistani) context this can be observed amongst rural families – and the educated young females. However, another view to be considered is that education also creates a gap between the educated and non-educated, thus creating a new class division within the society (Arnot and Naveed, 2014).

Individual families in Pakistan are becoming more and more aware of social mobility as seen by the previous study of Arnot and Naveed (2014). However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, there have been limited resources allocated by the government in Pakistan, since its inception in 1947 until the present time, to have an equitable standard of education (Rahman, 1996).

Bourdieu had proposed that education be used to reduce inequalities in French society. However, this proposal was not put into effect by French policy makers at the time

(Dubois, 2011). Similarly, in Pakistan the two languages used as the official (English) and national language (Urdu) were intended to bring in equality and unity in a new Pakistan of 1947 (see Chapter 2).

The process of state formation and political unity in Pakistan was aided by the establishment of a national language (Rahman, 1996). This was significant in the selection of Urdu as the state's national language (Ali, 1993; Malik, 1996). English was selected as the official language. English, as the medium of instruction, continues to be adopted by the 'elite' and the private 'elite' schools (Rahman, 2004a) as it is still considered the official language in Pakistan (see Chapter 2). The role of English in Pakistan is thus what Phillipson (1992) has described as 'linguistic imperialism' (Arnove and Arnove, 1997).

Due to the different educational systems in Pakistan, the students of English-medium schools may consider the students of Urdu-medium schools mediocre (Rahman, 2004a). Bourdieu's (1986) conception of habitus may be applied here, to explain this attitude.

3.6.i 'Elite' Backgrounds

The participants of my study come from what may be considered 'elite' backgrounds (Rahman, 2002; Sullivan, 2007), due to their access to the opportunities provided to them by their family and economic backgrounds. Their fathers were educated and held important jobs in the government or in the private sector (First interviews June 2006-January 2007) which gave them economic capital (Bourdieu, 2001). In Pakistan, cultural capital can be applied to those families who are titled, well-educated or independently wealthy, such as land-owners or bureaucrats (Rahman, 2004a). The elite are able to earn status and social respect from their economic capital which is then cashed in as currency to establish a comfortable future not only for their own generation but for future generations as well. This 'institutionalised' form of cultural capital awards value, respect and power to the advantaged individuals in a society (Bourdieu, 2001). Their cultural

capital is the criterion of selection, as well as the habitus that they have acquired through acculturation into a particular class or social group.

The ‘dominant class’ (Bourdieu, 1991) have been to private English-medium schools (Ahmed, 1999). The perception and awareness of the public in Pakistan that white-collar jobs are held by people proficient in English who form the dominant class, according to Ahmed (1999), is a driving force for parents to send their children to private English-medium schools (Malik, 1996). Private education in English schools may be preferred by organisations selecting candidates for jobs. Those with the English language *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu, 1991; Malik, 1996; Mansoor, 2004; Ahmed, 1999) may be met with approval at interviews as they are proficient in speaking English (Chapter 2).

Ali (1993) notes that there is an enormous gulf between the ‘elite’ English-medium schools and Urdu-medium schools in terms of the facilities provided and of the learning outcomes and of employability of students graduating from them. The rules are set by the dominant educated classes as mentioned earlier. The educational policies, the type of text books and the medium of instruction in the non-fee paying schools run by the government have Urdu as the medium of instruction. This makes it more difficult for the products of Urdu-medium school graduates to compete for well-placed jobs as the requirement is English proficiency for most of the top jobs (Ali, 1993; Rahman, 2002; Mansoor, 2004, 2005).

Bourdieu’s idea of a ‘field’ (Bourdieu, 1986) – which is the competitive system of social relations where the struggle for power between the dominant and subordinate classes takes place – is applicable to the Pakistani context where it can be seen in its most obvious form in the languages used in the educational sector. In Pakistan, this struggle can be seen between those who have the opportunity to go to private schools and can speak English and those who do not (Rahman, 2005b; Malik, 1996). For instance, many Pakistani leaders are products of private English medium schools. For example, the former Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, who was assassinated in 2007 (CNN, 2007) was

educated at the Convent of Jesus and Mary, Murree, Pakistan and Imran Khan, the cricketer turned politician, went to one of the best private schools in Pakistan, Aitchison College, Lahore. The social capital of these individuals was further increased when they went for higher studies, the former to Radcliffe and Oxford and the latter to Oxford (Benazir-Biography, 2003; Khan-Profile, 2003). This was only possible as they belonged to upper-middle class families and, having the right connections, that is, the cultural capital, later each led their own political parties. The values and beliefs that they acquired from their educational and family background and from their 'class' (Bourdieu, 1991; Calhoun et al., 1993; Wilkes, 1990) helped them to achieve leadership positions. Having linguistic capital (English fluency) enabled them to have wider opportunities (Mansour, 2002; Rahman, 2005).

The cultural capital that such individuals (as mentioned above) can acquire, even if it cannot be converted into cash, acts as a *currency* even more valuable than cash as it enables them to get high-paid jobs which may, in most cases, is accompanied by power and influence that in turn maintains the status quo. An example of this is an individual born into a family with cultural capital, which, in Pakistan, would most likely include knowledge of English. This individual could obtain a high standard of education by attending a fee-paying private school and therefore having easier access to tertiary education which uses English as the medium of instruction (Malik, 1996). Like one's family name, 'elite' education is a great asset – adding to cultural gain and to one's rate of return. In the context of Pakistan, such a culture can create and perpetuate class divisions (Bourdieu, 1991). This cultural capital or the habitus resides with a minority of the population in a country where all do not have the opportunity to avail themselves of 'elite' education (Ali, 1993; Rahman, 2002; Mansoor, 2004, 2005).

According to Bourdieu (1986), habitual modes of thought, given license by the habitus, give rise to a belief system. This can be seen in Rahman's (2004) empirical study. He finds that worldviews differ of students attending schools with have different mediums of instruction. Similarly, language can reinforce class (or socioeconomic) position and class

divisions (Bourdieu, 1991). Using Bourdieu's (1991) model, the English language in Pakistan is not only being used as a means of communication, but also as a powerful tool through which individuals display their interests and pursue their goals. Linguistic utterances can be perceived as the product of what Bourdieu (1991) termed, a 'linguistic market' and a 'linguistic habitus' in the form of accumulated resources that are deployed by individuals to fit a social situation (ibid).

3.6.ii Pakistani Identity: Tensions

Identities are not constant but evolving (Gur, 2013; Gu and Benson, 2014; Bullough Jr, 2015; Day et al., 2006) and this was discussed in the previous section. As a result of our home background (Bourdieu, 2001) or a change in surroundings, or travelling internationally as a child as a member of an expatriate family, one is exposed to varied conditions and having to speak different languages at home and at school (Grimshaw and Sears, 2008), all these can have an impact on our identity.

Language can have an impact not only on our identity, but by extension, also on our culture which is constructed through shared experiences and language. This has been argued by some Pakistani researchers in the context of Urdu- and English-medium schools in Pakistan. In discussing the role of language in affecting Pakistani identity, Rassool and Mansoor (2007: 227) argue that "...Urdu is, fundamentally an historical construct of Pakistani nationalism which is grounded in Islamic principles...it has always been central to the political identity of the Pakistani state". Urdu has a similar script and alphabet to Arabic, the language of the Qur'an and has been described as an Islamic language (Rahman, 2002, 2007b for a discussion of Urdu as the language of ideology and as an Islamic language). This Islamic Pakistani identity according to Mansoor (2002) is being challenged in schools by western cultural beliefs found in western text books that are used in the 'elite' private school curriculum. There has even been a recommendation made by Rahman (2001, 2004a), to do away with not only the 'elite' schools but all private schools because they are believed to produce westernised students who are losing their Pakistani collective identity and religion. Such schools teach English via English

literature. This has resulted in the situation where the most well-educated and powerful community members are comfortable in conversing in English (Sullivan, 2007). Opponents of these schools propose that other types of literature should be taught which are closer to Pakistani culture (Mansoor, 2005; Rahman, 2001, 2004a). In short, the researchers suggest that English-medium schools perpetuate class divisions and income inequality by reproducing the cultural capital of the elite. The question then is: to what extent did the schooling that my participants experienced in Pakistan contribute to shaping their professional identity?

Using Bourdieu's concepts of hegemony and habitus, where hegemony can be explained as authority and prestige, while habitus consists of learned characteristics which persuade us to behave in various ways (Bourdieu, 2001). The speaker then can use a certain linguistic code while acting in a certain role. One can also compare among competing varieties of languages spoken in a country and the choice a speaker makes to select a certain linguistic code at the moment (Ljosland, 2011). In Pakistan there are national (Urdu), official (English) and regional languages (Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto and Balochi are the main ones), and the speaker determines which language is used more powerfully in a particular context and field. This could be expressed as wielding symbolic power over those who are not very comfortable with the language. A case in point would be using the official language – English - in Pakistan to show a speaker's elite educational background (Sullivan, 2007; Mansoor, 2005).

Mansoor, (2002, 2005) and Rahman (2005) advocate a change in the education system in Pakistan so that the class distinctions and dissimilar mind-sets that have existed in Pakistan from its inception until the present time are eliminated. Arguably, this stratification has been exacerbated in part due to the superior status of English language and culture that the private 'elite' schools promote. English remains exclusive to this stratum of society due to the high cost of education in English (Sullivan, 2007; Mansoor, 2002, 2005).

The literature on identity formation cited earlier can be used as evidence that individuals as social beings are mainly products of their social environment (Grimshaw and Sears, 2008). Students who have been to Urdu-medium schools will be more in tune with the worldview presented to them from their locally-produced text books while the students from English-medium schools are more exposed to the text books and English literature which have been imported for such schools (Mansoor, 2004; Phillipson, 1992). Moreover, the students of English-medium schools also are more in tune with western music, dress and language as that is also their home culture (Mansoor, 2004; Sullivan, 2007; Rahman, 2004a).

Our identity can be affected by the language we use to express ourselves in social situations (Grimshaw and Sears, 2008) as it carries certain social values (Aziz, 2002). English carries tremendous power in Pakistan (Rahman, 2002), in the form of social cachet in all areas that reflect the use of literacy although Urdu, as mentioned before, was selected as the national language of Pakistan for national unity (Rahman, 1996). The research conducted by Pakistani academics (Mansoor, 2002, 2005; Rahman, 2001, 2004a) further highlights the significance of the different curricula in Pakistani English-medium schools with special reference to westernisation in Pakistani identity and culture due to the influence of the English-medium schools (ibid).

It could be said that Pakistani identity is understood in different ways by people coming from different walks of life in Pakistan. Those who are from affluent backgrounds and have attended English-speaking schools speak more English and their identity is considered westernised compared to those who have gone to non-English medium schools (Rahman, 2004a). Bhabha (1994) has defined this as a 'hybrid' identity, a concept which Areen (2000) disagrees with as it implies 'otherness'. If one agrees that the Pakistani situation of its English-speaking elite is similar to British colonised African countries (Mazuri, 1975a) where the language of a foreign or colonial culture (dominant group) enters into the *habits and thoughts* of the subordinate group and shapes its

behaviour and the way speakers of this language think (ibid), then this elite can be seen as culturally apart and so foreigners in their own country (Rahman, 2004a).

The connection between language and identity will be explored in the next section.

3.7 Language, Culture and Identity

As mentioned earlier, language is one of the factors affecting our identity (Grimshaw and Sears, 2008). It could be said that language, culture and identity these shape our belief system (Sapir, 1971; Aziz 2002). Sapir says “the mere content of language is intimately related to culture” (Sapir, 1971:219) because language shapes our beliefs and attitudes, and this makes us think and behave the way we do.

There are multiple definitions of the concept of ‘culture’ (Grimshaw and Sears, 2008), ranging from exclusive ideas focusing only on intellectual or artistic work to more inclusive ones which highlight the interactions of all the complex knowledge of individuals in a society.

In this study, the term ‘culture’ is used to refer to “...values, customs, beliefs, practices which constitute the way of life of a specific group” (Eagleton, 2000: 34). It is postulated that “culture is the implicit knowledge of the world by which people negotiate appropriate ways of acting in specific contexts” (ibid: 34-35). It can be said that culture is constructed through the context within which we participate, and that language is one of the key mediating devices used in this interaction. Thus ontological and epistemological ways of being and knowing become highly contextualised according to the cultures involved. To explain culture I will use the following inclusive definition: “The customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group” (merriam-webster.com/dictionary/culture).

Culture is a way of interacting with the world and it subsumes language as one of its components and thus is an integral part of language (Mansoor, 2002; Rahman, 2001,

2004a). Language has an impact on the culture of people because it is an embodiment of culture (Mazuri, 1975a; Phillipson, 1992). All languages are carriers of culture and the English language and the culture it represents has had an impact on the religion, politics and educational systems on countries colonized by Britain (Phillipson, 1992; Canagarajah, 1999), such as Pakistan from where my participants originate.

“Languages are more to us than systems of thought transference. They are invisible garments that drape themselves around our spirit and give it a predetermined form to all its symbolic expression” (Sapir, 1971: 221). Therefore, if we speak another language or more than one language, we change our identity (Gee, 1994). According to Gee, (1994) “...a change of discourse practices is a change of identity” (1994:169) and “[l]anguage and literacy acquisition are forms of socialization...” (Gee, 1994:189). “Discourse practices are always embedded in the particular world view of a particular social group, they are tied to a set of values and norms” and, “in learning new discourse practices, a student partakes of this set of values and norms, this world view” (ibid). Furthermore, an individual acquires “a new identity, one that at various points may conflict with the student’s initial acculturation and socialization” (ibid). Different languages used in different social interactions, as at home, at school, at work and as an expatriate have an impact on one’s identity (Grimshaw and Sears, 2008).

Summary of Chapter 3

In this chapter I have cited literature on identity formation, cultural capital and the effect of Urdu and English medium of schools and its effect on identity formation due to one language having a higher profile than the other in Pakistan.

Identity formation does not take place in isolation. Identity evolves in a social context and through language at a certain time and place. The home and the educational environment both have an impact on an individual’s social positioning. Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital (2001) provides the theoretical foundation of my analysis. Urdu was selected as the national language of Pakistan as a unifying force (Rahman,

1996). However, its status has been subverted by the use of English by the well-educated members of Pakistani society (Sullivan, 2007).

From the Findings of this study I hope to have further insights to my *Research Q1: How has the life history and experiences of expatriate Pakistani teachers (of English language) as students in Pakistan, shaped their current identity as expatriate English language teachers?*

The more specific questions the study explores are:

RQ.1.a.What were their experiences as learners?

RQ.1.b.What were their experiences as teachers?

RQ.1c. How do they describe themselves as teachers? What metaphors would they use to describe themselves as teachers?

Chapter 4: Methodology and Research Design

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the methodological approach of my study will be divided into two parts. A qualitative narrative approach will be used to interview my three participants and this approach will be discussed in Part 1. The specific design of my empirical research given will be elaborated in Part 2.

Part I - Qualitative Narrative Approach

4.2 Overview

Narrative stories may become a centerpiece and a mode of inquiry for teachers to make sense of their personal and professional lives (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000; Clandinin et al., 2010; Goodson, 1992; Cortazzi and Jin, 2006; Bridges, 2006). It is through narratives that we understand ourselves and how we construct our lives, thus subjectively deriving meaning through our interactions in the ‘real world’ (Mead, 1934). The more stories we hear, the richer our dialogue becomes (Bakhtin, 1981).

There are many narratives that make up one person's life experiences. Prior to both the easy access of books and the increase of general literacy, knowledge was mainly transferred by word of mouth through myths or stories. Oral history was enacted through the narratives of myths and plays. Bruner considers narrative to be “...concerned with the explication of human intentions in the context of action” (Bruner, 1985: 100). Through our life histories, all of us, as individuals, have narratives shared through the telling of stories. For Bruner, stories hold a pragmatic dimension as they become our theories to explain our world (Bruner, 1986) but it is not only the story, but also the telling of the story, that becomes important: “It is not only simply the telling of the tales, not the *fabula*, that provides reflection...but the mode of discourse, the *sjuzet*” (Bruner, 1986: 128).

Although there is nothing that we can do to change our actions and speech acts of the past, by reflecting on what we can change, we can act differently in the future (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000).

Personal narratives can guide us to change our practice as teachers in the teaching contexts that we are placed in, in the present, and also those we will encounter in the future. There are diverse elements in a story involving many actors that make up the story's narrative, some of greater critical import than others. One may start from the present time and go backwards and forwards in time to connect chains of events to each other. This narrative may take the form of a soliloquy where a silent internal dialogue can be carried on. At times, this may be shared in the form of a formal or informal dialogue with one person, or a conversation with many people.

My participants' narratives of learning and teaching are vital in bringing their experiences to life (Bryman, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). The narrative process is an essential part of my research through which participants become, to a certain extent, co-narrators. My empirical study is participant-driven and participant-based. The research is not bounded by fixed and set questions, but is guided by semi-structured interviews conducted face-to-face. This will enable all of us, myself as the researcher, as well as the researched, to experience a comfortable ambience during the interview process which may in turn lead to better understanding and insights. The semi-structured approach may lend itself to participants delving into issues through their narratives that I, as the researcher, may not have considered. This might stimulate, generate and highlight other issues which perhaps may not have been considered by me, the researcher, prior to the interviews (Stanley, 1993; Freeman and Brockmeier, 2001; Freeman, 2007; Trahar, 2007).

4.3 A Critical Evaluation of the Narrative Approach

The retelling of a story is to delve into the past, both immediate and distant. To recall those events, we have to depend on our memory which cannot always be relied upon, as this recall is a subjective interpretation of the past. This interpretation is based upon our

present experiences which may colour our memory, and affect the ‘accuracy’ of our story.

As researchers, we need to be aware that the stories told to us are not only one story but many enmeshed stories. Freeman (2001) posits that a story can never be of this particular individual, because the individuals, or ‘I’ “...define and articulate my existence with and many among others, through the various narrative modes – including literary genres, plot structures, metaphoric themes, and so on – my culture provides” (Freeman, 2001:287). While researching the lives of an individual, we are dealing with other lives and situations as well. Significant people in the storytellers’ lives may shape their stories, and as Plummer reminds us, “...as people change so the stories change” (Plummer, 2001:44).

In the telling of one story, other stories are abandoned (or at least put aside for the time being). What is omitted in a narrative may be as important as what is included. However, the intention of the narrator may not be to mislead but to give to the researcher what the narrator believes is relevant – which may not match the facts (Goodson and Sikes, 2001:46). Teachers can thus narrate a life history which is often the recall of critical moments or incidents of one’s past, which is being related in the present time in response to the researcher’s questions.

The above points are to be kept in mind whilst undertaking my narrative research approach. This approach will give voice to how female expatriate tertiary teachers coming from Pakistan relate their stories of learning, of teaching, and of themselves. This is a valuable endeavour for learners, educators and also “narrative researchers to understand cross-cultural differences more fully” (Chase, 2005:670).

In the next section, the Pakistan case studies of teachers’ voices, their reflections connected to their life history, and the methodology used to interpret these will be briefly discussed.

4.4 Specific Justification of Narrative Approach

The narrative approach through autobiographical interviews (Scott and Usher, 1999, 2000) will be used to consider how Pakistani Muslim female (multilingual) teachers position and identify themselves with regard to English language and culture. The interplay of language, culture and identity is based on the symbiotic relationship languages have with each other (Mazuri 1975a; Phillipson, 1992; Canagarajah, 1999; Morgan, 1999; Gee, 1994) and also the relationship languages have with thought (Vygotsky, 1962). A narrative is a condensed life history of critical incidents so a narrative approach should enable issues of the language and culture of learners and teachers to be viewed holistically by contextualising the critical personal and professional incidents of their lives. Participants tell their own stories in their own words to enlighten us through their reflections and explorations of their selves within the framework of their language, culture and identity. This can lead to an understanding of how they see themselves as a part of a society where they were initially educated and where they started their careers as English language teachers. Moreover, this may clarify how they position themselves in the present time as expatriate tertiary EFL teachers at GCU. These stories would also help to find other stories about their lives emerging from the narratives in this auto/biographical research study (Stanley, 1999).

Language and culture are both pertinent and relevant factors in this auto/biographical narrative research as they provide the background and societal context within which the individuals' identities have developed. The language(s) used in society, students'/teachers' culture and cultural attitudes are all significant factors in providing a framework within which the participants' teaching styles and their views on teaching can be examined, contested, reflected upon and understood. I think it especially relevant to design a research study to understand how Pakistani female teachers view their identities and beliefs in the context of language and culture because of the need to foster understanding, by listening to their voices in different contexts.

The life histories of these multilingual EFL teachers, who come from a cultural background similar to mine, will be able to shed light, not only on their identity, but perhaps also on their identity which may be multi-voiced (Bakhtin, 1981). Morgan mentions researchers who focus “on culture, particularly in a foreign context, [and] themselves have bilingual or bicultural personal contexts” (Morgan, 1999:499). I am one of these researchers, and as mentioned above, I regard myself ‘an insider looking in’. Morgan (1999:499) continues, “[t]hese personal contexts bring about immediate and practical experience of intercultural differences both in linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours”. I consider myself a participant-researcher due to my personal connection to the topic and I hope to add insight to the topic through this approach.

The narratives of my participants are critical incidents of learning and reflections from childhood until the present and take the form of a life history. Through the three-dimensional framework (proposed by Clandinin and Connelly, 2000) of temporality, of the personal/social, and of place, a personal narrative can travel “inward, outward, backward, forward, and situated within space” (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000: 50). The three-dimensional approach will be utilised to explore and communicate our stories as learners and as expatriate teachers via our narrative of our critical childhood experiences of family and schooling and our stories in the context of Pakistani education.

Narrative research will enable me to learn from the participants’ range of experiences (professional/personal/private/childhood), and from their perceptions about learning and teaching in particular. This will hopefully be a personally and professionally reflective endeavour. As life is always enmeshed within the fabric of narrative (Freeman and Brockmeier, 2001), I am attempting to bring the narratives of some voices of cultural diversity to the educational field. Through the articulation of diverse voices, an “extensive interaction in cultures other than... [our] own” can take place (Brislin et al., 1986: 15; Crozier and Davies, 2007; Shah, 2004, 2006; for cultural research see Smith, 1994; Said, 1978, 1994; Shamim and Qureshi, 2010; Stanley, 2007).

4.5 Narrative research: Data collection

Narratives, or life histories are the “reflexive project of selves” (Goodson and Sikes, 2001: 62). In this empirical study, the story starts from me and the participant teachers who come from a similar background to myself. These stories are “an intensive account of life, usually gathered by unstructured interviews” and this “approach is clearly akin to the gathering and examination of autobiographies and biographies” (Gordon, 1998: 369). Therefore, these stories could be described as embodying an auto/biographical approach method (Stanley, 1999).

The lives of the participants and their views of learning and teaching will be expressed through their stories of themselves. These stories will emerge from semi-structured audio-recorded interviews, transcribed for analysis. As my participants are also considered, to a certain extent as co-researchers, the transcribed text will be given to them for their comments and approval.

The investigation will be carried out through semi-structured interviews by which I hope to trace my interviewees' professional developmental stages and to understand what kind of metaphors they use to describe themselves as teachers of English language while relating their journey as EFL teachers. In the process of the unfolding of their stories, or stories within stories, I expect to understand their developmental stages (Day et al., 2006), first as learners, and then as teachers, in order to have a richer understanding of the impact they have on their students.

In life history research, the interpretation of the text is central. Here, the researchers and the researched are both immersed in the research framework and their stories are enmeshed because they are co-constructed (Scott and Usher, 1999, 2000; Bryman, 2001; Cohen et al., 2003). “[The] biographical text has to be understood in the terms of the way it was constructed, and this includes the situated autobiography of the researcher” (Scott and Usher, 1999, 2000:124). This could be understood as the researcher’s acknowledgement of his/her part in the research, of being the integral resource of the

study. Collins (2010:229) also points out that, “there are three preconditions” to this type of research, “the reflexivity, the centrality of the narrative self and finally a commitment to a dialogic methodology” (Collins, 2010: 229). This then is not only the story of the participants, but also the voice of the researcher. In my study, I will consider myself to be a participant of the research, one who is reflecting on the historical issues that were prevalent in the process of our educational progress in Pakistan. This reflection of our stories is bound to be coloured by time and maturity.

My participants, who may be deemed social actors, (Goffman, 1959 and ‘social fields’), tell their own stories, in their own words, of their own ‘social realities’, through reflection and exploration of their selves. We can understand from them how they see themselves, whether as a part of a society that has accepted and included them, or has rejected and excluded them (Plummer, 2001; Goodson and Sikes, 2001). Through the narrative approach, we will not be engaging solely with their stories as learners and teachers, but will relate to them through the broader context of their life stories.

4.6 Research Outcomes/Usefulness of the Research

This narrative study investigates the personal and professional identities of three English language Pakistani teachers (and also myself) working in the Arabian Gulf. Our lived experiences are our stories which are “.... a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful” (Clandinin and Rosiek 2007: 36-37). The past and present social and cultural world that a person experiences at an interactional level may be reflected upon while relating the narrative. This reflection would be carried out in the hope that the inquiry may “generate a new relation between a human being and her environment – her life, community, world” (Clandinin and Rosiek 2007: 39) in order to produce a new way of dealing with them.

I am positioning myself both as a researcher, and as a participant; “in comparative and intercultural contexts narrative researchers may be led to reflect on their own learning

and educational identities” (Cortazzi and Jin, 2006: 27). The journey is not solitary but is undertaken in conjunction with my three other English teachers /research participants from Pakistan. Through this process of reflecting on learning and teaching, they may exhibit, not only what they have done, and what they do, but their reflections also may lead to a clearer understanding of who they are; “participants tell stories of learning and teaching; and often these lead to a sense of identity” (Cortazzi and Jin, 2006: 27; Baddeley and Singer, 2007).

Keeping the narrative methodology in mind, I will be using semi-structured interviews to consider the broader question that my study is trying to explore :

Research Question: *How have the personal and professional learning experiences of expatriate Pakistani teachers (of English language) as students in Pakistan, shaped their current identity as expatriate English language teachers?*

4.7 Authenticity

According to Neuman, the validity of any research is equated with its trustworthiness and “authenticity means giving a fair, honest and a balanced account of social life from the viewpoint of someone who lives it everyday” (2003:185). Qualitative researchers are interested in giving a candid view and portraying the picture of life as they see it by capturing and portraying social life of the research participants and how they understand the events they have related (Neuman, 2003).

The problem of historical truth, and narrative truth, is a concern because the recollection of the past is from the perspective of the present. Merton (1972) states that human beings speak about the past, and our reflections about the present and about the future are all from the “present perspective”. It seems that people construct competing and different realities of the same event witnessed by more than one person at the same time (Merton, 1995). This could also be related to memory or even ‘false memory’ because the person

here and now, at this point in time, is thinking about the person or event there and then (in the past) (Freeman, 2001).

The personal narratives of the participants and their perceptions as teachers and speakers of different languages will give us the ‘thick’ descriptions (Geertz, 1999) of the experiences. Meaning will be given to the text through the participants’ behaviour in, and attitudes towards, their culture (or the cultural dimension that Freeman, 2001 describes) in the time and space of the interview. In this way I will approach the research phenomenologically, by focussing on the individual participant (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Holland, 2010; Smith, 1999; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988).

The transcription of the language used, and of the non-verbal behaviour displayed, is one of the strengths of qualitative research. It enables the researcher to arrive at as complete a description of the interview as possible. It is through an awareness of non-verbal behaviour that we may try to read or understand and note what the participants feel. Although body language can only be captured on video, this can be perceived as intrusive, so my interviews of the participants will be audiotaped and detailed notes will be taken regarding linguistic and extralinguistic features of the interviews.

The textual reality and the ‘objective’ reality itself can never be the same or “value-free” (Scott and Usher, 1999:147). There may always be pre-conceptions; there is always a doubt about the representation of *the truth*. However, in my research, I do not wish to find any objective ‘truth’ but instead aim to portray the interpretations of the experiences of my participants by being faithful to what they tell me in the interviews. I will do this by audio recording my interviews, transcribing them and then sending these transcripts to my participants to be authenticated. I will quote from these transcripts and analyse and categorise these transcripts conceptually using a system of colour-coding (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992).

According to Polkinghorne (2007), there are four sources that can cause the description of the past to be different from its experience. These causes may arise first, because of the participants' imagination in language to articulate the complexity of the actual experience. Secondly, an inadequate awareness of events, and reflection on, then may cause the experience not to be understood. Thirdly, inhibitions because of social pressure or taboos may make participants reluctant to express themselves fully. The fourth cause given by Polkinghorne (2007) for the invalidity of recollection as an accurate record of the past may (ironically) arise from the interaction between the researcher and the participants.

First, I would like to examine these limitations one by one in the context of my research. I do not expect to find limitations regarding the use of language as the participants are all tertiary teachers who are comfortable with language expression (especially as both I and the participants are multilingual and will have English, Urdu, Punjabi and some Arabic to express themselves in). Secondly, I expect my participants to be aware of what past events regarding learning and teaching mean to them because they have reflected on these. Thirdly, I do not expect any inhibited responses from my participants because our interaction as researcher and researched is one based on social acquaintance, social background, gender and collegiality. The last and the fourth cause may happen because the narrative is co-creatively produced by both the researchers and the participants during the interview session. Furthermore, in my research, the interviews will be semi-structured and guided by the participants. They will be recorded for accuracy, which will be confirmed by the participants so I do not expect to find issues here.

Researchers may base their perceptions and points of view on their own premises and re/present the 'truth' as they see it through their own (acknowledged) subjectivities (Merton, 1995; Holland, 2010; Smith, 1999; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988). Each member of the academic world looks at the study from his/her own corner of the world and from his/her own knowledge and experience of the subject matter (Edge and Richards, 1998).

4.8 Ethical issues

As my participants and I are socially acquainted, they may feel safe to share their views. On the other hand, by being long-term close acquaintances and my being an ‘insider outsider’, “people might not wish to share” (Shah, 2004: 569) for fear of being judged or because of the worry of giving an answer that might be embarrassing for both parties. At times, being emotionally too close to people or in close physical proximity, the researcher might not notice information she would otherwise have with a new acquaintance or in a new environment. Lila Abu-Lughod (1988) observed this on her return to the site of her fieldwork after an absence of 5 years. She says, “[s]eeing them was exhilarating but also jarring. I had forgotten much that I had come to take for granted when I lived among them, especially concerning the relationship with them” (Abu- Lughod, 1988: 139). Shah (2004), like Abu-Lughod, very aptly sums up this point, “...just as unfamiliarity can hone criticality, familiarity may blunt criticality” (Shah, 2004: 569). This then is the dilemma of the ‘insider/outsider’ debate of researcher/researched – there is fresh perspective from outsiders and at the same time the disadvantage of not being at one with the culture.

Living an expatriate life removes a person both mentally and physically from one’s home country. Therefore, it is possible that a gap is created in the understanding of the local culture at that particular moment in time. This is how I have felt being the ‘insider’- (originally from Pakistan) which helps me understand the culture, whilst at the same time not being a part of the country (living all of my professional life abroad) for many years creates a gap – and also makes me the ‘outsider’.

The participants will only tell the stories of what they wish to reveal and in the way they see fit (Shah, 2004; Oakley, 1981). There could also be a concern of the hijacking of the interview by the participants (Oakley, 1981). For example, when the interviewees answer a question with a question, or they use the interview as an opportunity to express what they think is important, this may or may not coincide with the researcher’s agenda.

4.9 Ethics during the Interview Process

I contacted the three EFL expatriate Pakistani Muslim female teachers personally. I have been acquainted with them for a number of years. We have been colleagues, socialised occasionally during cultural events and also during other important occasions (celebrations and bereavement).

They were invited to take part in the research and were made aware that their anonymity would be preserved by pseudonyms (Fatima, Tehmina and Afshaan). However, they were also given the choice of their real names to be used. They chose to be anonymous, but then there can be cases as in *The story of “Anna”* (Muchmore, 2001, 2002), where the participant was not very concerned about staying anonymous which is why they were given the choice (Trahar, 2009).

The participants were not initially sent a form from the Human Ethics Committee (as conventionally recommended in the Western research approach to qualitative research) because culturally this was seen as too much of an official formality. Instead, they participated in the research because of my personal relationship with them - as a colleague, a good acquaintance and as a fellow Pakistani. They were aware of ethics consent forms but told me they did not need to see or sign them because my word was enough. However, due to the University requirements for this study in the UK, I had to obtain written consent from each of the participants (University of Bath Department of Education form – Appendix 1 and Information for participants - Appendix 2).

I experienced a similar situation when I was carrying out a research study in Christchurch, New Zealand (Naqvi, 2001) with Arab participants. I found that asking potential participants to sign consent forms was actually an inhibiting factor in their participation in my research. Such a form was associated with authority which generally was mistrusted. They preferred a face-to-face, friendly, more intimate relationship so I had to establish contact with them socially and personally. This cultural belief is based on

‘trust’ and word-of-mouth recommendations which are honoured much more than an official form.

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted. The interviews in my study were carried out at a location chosen individually by each of the participants at a mutually convenient time. All three of the participants (Fatima, Tehmina and Afshaan) chose their own drawing rooms in their own houses as locations for the interviews. Sitting side-by-side on sofas and being offered refreshments created an amiable and hospitable environment. Although the participants were acquaintances, a certain interview formality was still maintained. Being professionals, they (perhaps) either felt privileged to be selected as co-researchers, or were kind enough to oblige me to take part in my study. This type of interaction in a familiar environment chosen by the participants perhaps helped them to feel at ease and enabled them to give “confidential information” and some “intimate knowledge” (Neuman, 2003: 396).

Communicative devices (Scott and Usher, 1999, 2000) were taken into consideration in order to make the participants feel at ease, by explaining the purpose of the interviews, by showing the interviews to be relatable to their experiences and by not challenging their responses. Other important factors I was aware of were paralinguistic clues, like the type of dress, the seating arrangement and the location (Mishler, 1986).

Interviews, though intrusive, are usually recorded or video-taped. This affects the privacy and can breach the private-public divide (Scott and Usher, 1999, 2000), but can be recorded with the consent of the interviewees. My participants gave me their verbal and written consent for the interviews to be recorded on audio tape. The audio-tapes and the transcripts have been kept confidential.

Having established a research methodology, the next step is to investigate a suitable research design. The second part of this chapter will propose a research design for my narrative research.

Part II - Research Design

The second part of Chapter 4 will elaborate on my Research Design. This will include a pilot study that I carried out, literature on teachers in Pakistan, personal and professional knowledge of teachers, importance of cultural context, sample participants and 3 biographic narrative interviews.

4.10 The Researcher in the Field

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) recommend conducting a pilot study before commencing the actual research interviews. As I was convinced by their rationale of first ‘trying out’ the interview process, I carried out a pilot study and collected data via interviews before writing the literature review for this study. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) suggest “meandering” through the research process, collecting field texts (writing notes after initial contact with the interviewee, then doing so during the interview, and also re-collecting the impressions after the interview) and then finally analysing the data and using educational literature to understand the field texts as research text.

Before conducting the interviews with my three prospective interviewees, I carried out a pilot study, on 26th May 2006, in Oman.

The participant for the pilot was Saleema (a pseudonym), a Pakistani-British expatriate who was in the country because her husband was employed here. Saleema’s first language was Punjabi, and Urdu her second language. She had learnt English in the UK where she had moved to from Pakistan as a teenager. Saleema had heard that I was carrying out a research study and offered to be a participant. I was looking for females of Pakistani origin with university teaching experience abroad but she did not match my criteria as she was not a tertiary English language teacher. However, I decided to hear her story - she was very eager to relate it – because I wanted the experience of interviewing a Pakistani female to hear her ‘lived experiences’. Earlier, in 1998-99, I had invited Pakistani-New Zealander females to be part of one of my studies for my M. Ed in New

Zealand, but they had backed out at the last minute and I had to interview Indian-New Zealander females.

Saleema was not one of the final group of participants selected, however, the interview undertaken with her was valuable for her, as she found this an opportunity to tell me her story of the hardships she had endured in her education. She had not had the opportunity to be educated in an English-medium school in Pakistan. She therefore had to struggle to learn English when she went to the UK and had only managed to finish her 'O' levels. She had recently, at the age of 56, returned to the UK (her home base) to complete her A-levels.

The experience of interviewing her was very traumatic for me (and I am sure for her, too) as she sobbed and shared personal information about her marital life. This bore out the observations of Oakley (1981) who pointed out the possibility of the information given by interviewees being diverted to areas of their own interest. This digression made me aware of the value in giving participants the opportunity and the space to share their own personal experiences in confidence (Maynard, 1994). Although this also made my work as a researcher stressful, as I had to carry her stories within me bound by the burdens of confidentiality, at the same time I also felt privileged that she had shared her experiences with me.

Another point worth mentioning is that I later had the experience of being interviewed by my daughter for her PhD study (like Bridges, 2006 – here I was learning through my doctoral work). I was talking about food, culture and memory (my daughter's research topic). I found the experience of being interviewed to be very emotional because my childhood memories came rushing back and the nostalgia was overpowering. I realised while being interviewed that there were seas and oceans of distance between my siblings and myself who are members of my very closely-knit family. We seven siblings were in different continents - scattered all over the globe. So I could empathise with Saleema in a different way and also with my interviewer, who happened to be my daughter. The

typescript that was prepared by my daughter was detailed and a document of my life that I'll cherish - so I made history! Being in the same boat as my daughter - looking for participants - I was happy to be of help.

The next section gives insights into Pakistani culture.

4.11 Importance of Cultural Framework

When conducting empirical research it is important to have an awareness of the differing cultural frameworks that the participants' and researchers' may experience. Cultural 'translations' can often become 'sticking points' in analysis. Riessman (1987) demonstrates how an Anglo female researcher and a female Hispanic participant had difficulties in communicating as they used "different narrative genres to make meaning of the same event - marital separation" (Riessman, 1987: 173). This created major misunderstandings between them despite the fact that they were both females (Bron, 2002).

In research situations, the dominant language of the researcher and that of the researched and the metaphors used need to be considered because this could have an impact on the findings. In the study conducted by Kirk (2007) in Karachi, she uses English to interview, discuss and present questionnaires to her participants. Although, in her words, Urdu was "their mother tongue" (Kirk, 2007: 380), she justifies using English, as, "...working in English facilitated a direct communication between researcher and participants that was more comfortable than working through an interpreter" (Kirk 2004: 380). Furthermore, she considered this quite "appropriate" as she says all of the women taking part in the study were teaching in English-medium schools and all of their professional development courses and activities were in English, where they were required to read, write and speak in English (Kirk 2004: 380). She uses quite rigid binaries to describe the position of her Pakistani participants. It would be interesting to explore whether her participants would agree with the description given of them, or whether she is perhaps using her cultural frame and her lived experiences to understand them.

According to Baumgardner et al. (1993), most Pakistanis use what is called ‘Pakistani English’. This, with its own inflections and literal translation, might also hinder meaning and may create miscommunication for a researcher (Shah, 2004; Cortazzi and Jin, 2006; Crozier and Davies, 2007; Henry, 1995; Haeri, 2004; Andrews et al., 2004). This is not to say that there is no value in cross-cultural research, but these factors must be considered by the researcher whilst conducting such research. As an example, I, as a multilingual speaker, observed that Syed (2008: 291), a Pakistani researcher in Canada, appears to interpret the meaning of the word “place” by relating it to a person’s position in a social context rather than physical location. She, as a multilingual speaker (as stated by her), interprets the lack of teacher autonomy (in her two English-speaking Canadian female teacher participants) in professional development courses according to her own linguistic and cultural experiences.

As a multilingual Pakistani myself, it is my experience when communicating with other Pakistanis, and even with those fluent in English, that a mix of Urdu and English (code-switching) is commonly used in conversation. I would expect this to occur in my own interviews because I think this would create a more relaxed atmosphere for the participants. Whether (and if so, when) this code-switching between languages appears, may signify my participants’ comfort level and sense of cultural identity.

4.12 Selection of the Participants

I approached the participants of my study individually and informed them of my research interest and the ethical issues connected to the research. They were given the relevant forms to sign (see Appendix 1 and 2). I chose them as participants in my research because they share similar historical, cultural, sociological, educational and maybe even psychological influences (Cortazzi and Jin 2006; Shah, 2004; Andrews et al., 2004) with me. We were all born in Pakistan and had our basic education there. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to map the development of their interest to embark on a career of teaching the English language, a language spoken by less than 2 per cent of the

population of Pakistan (Rahman, 2002; Khalique, 2006). The interviews also included questions regarding the critical phases of their educational and linguistic development during their childhood and how these contributed to their professional development as a teacher of English.

The three participants of my research study, Tehmina, Fatima and Afshaan are expatriate Pakistani female EFL teachers teaching in Oman. They are speakers of Urdu, Punjabi, and English with an English Literature educational background. The interview questions were semi-structured to find out what their critical learning/teaching experiences have been and how they position themselves as teachers (Davies and Harré, 1990).

4.13 Semi-structured Interviews: Co-construction

For the purposes of the study, an interview was the preferred method of collecting data. This was done in order for the data gathered to be richer and more participant-centred, rather than to send them a faceless questionnaire (Oppenheim, 2001). However, a questionnaire was not ruled out completely as it could have proved to be of use in collecting salient features of the participants' biographical data as a backdrop to my research. This was in fact done later to clarify certain dates and details that had not been covered in the interviews.

The qualitative in-depth narrative approach gave me, the researcher, and my participants, an opportunity to engage more closely during the interview process. In favour of this research we can say, "social research is always valued research, in that both the values of participants in the research and the values of the researcher themselves are central to the construction of research texts" (Scott and Usher, 2000: 1). This engagement helps the participants try to make sense of their world and their lived experiences, by narrating critical events of the past, which may have made them what they are today.

Through a semi-structured face-to-face approach to interviewing, the agenda of the interview may be co-constructed with the respondents (Scott and Usher, 1999, 2000). It

may help the researcher in conjunction with the participant to intertextually “focus and frame” the question and the response (Scott and Usher, 1999, 2000: 110). However, as mentioned above, the participants’ agenda may also interfere with that of the researcher. I found this in my own interview experience. One of my participants, Tehmina, ‘hijacked’ (Oakley, 1981) the interview and started talking about family affairs whilst living in Pakistan, related to her mother and the problems connected with sharing a house with her in-laws.

The biographic narrative interview process can become a process of identity construction for the participants and researcher (Riessman, 2011). Through the interview process, critical life history incidents are woven together to form a story. Riessman (2011), quoting Mishler (1999: 8), deduces through her experience of interviews, “research participants can emplot their lives in a variety of ways; they select and assemble experiences and events so they contribute collectively to the intended point of the story...why it is being told, in just this way, in just this setting” (Mishler, 1999: 8, cited in Riessman, 2011: 323).

The questions were written in English and were related to critical incidents of their learning. They were given the choice to speak any one of the three languages that they were comfortable in to express themselves: English, Urdu or Punjabi. While the participants mainly used English, they also used Urdu and Punjabi whilst describing certain intimate or emotional incidents. This code-switching was noted in the subsequent transcript of the interviews. If this took them off on tangents, they were not reminded to return to answering the question asked as the interview was not time-bound. This gave me (and them, for that matter), more insight into their reflections, perceptions and perhaps also, aspirations. These digressions also gave me a clearer view of the depth of their attitudes, values and beliefs and the opportunity to listen to them and to record and understand “women’s own description and accounts” (Maynard, 1994: 12) as also emphasised by feminist scholarship.

The semi-structured interview process in this way may become a dialogue through which I, as the interviewer guided the interviewees. Whilst talking about the critical incidents of their experiences of learning, they also described their feelings of fear, or enjoyment, in that learning process and connected it to their home environment. Through this discursive process, I was also able to position myself as a learner, at a similar stage of life. This enabled "...jointly produced storylines" amongst my participants and myself (Davies and Harré, 1990:48). In this manner, by "...telling a fragment of...her autobiography" (Davies and Harré, 1990: 48), each participant (including myself) was creating characters in the plots of our own stories. This made me, as a participant-researcher, reflect both as a learner and as a teacher, thus swinging me like a pendulum from the past to the present.

4.14 Biographic Narrative Interview: Participants as Learners –

Interview 1 (Conducted June 2006 – January 2007)

The three participants were individually interviewed, (not 'studied'!) in their natural setting, which was in their homes in their host country, at a mutually convenient time. It was essential to make the participants feel as comfortable and safe as possible in their natural environment. As mentioned above, the place/venue was suggested by them - their own houses, in the comfort of their drawing rooms and also in the comfort of their home and in informal attire (for 'Communicative devices', see Scott and Usher, 1999, 2000). The individual face-to-face interviews with Fatima, Tehmina and Afshaan ranged between 45 minutes and 2 hours.

An atmosphere of camaraderie and bonhomie was created during the interview and this ambience was of great importance as gender and ethnic differences shape the relationships between the researcher and the participants. However, I did not expect there to be any problems in creating favourable conditions for the participants because we were known to each other, and also because of our common cultural backgrounds (Song and Parker, 1999), which would relax them.

Using a personal interview approach gave me the opportunity to provide a first-hand explanation of the purpose of the study, and also to address any ethical or other issues in a non-threatening manner. Rather than expecting the participant to arrive at a definite answer to the questions posed, key themes and issues were explored. To gather ‘rich’ information about the cases, I used in-depth, semi-structured interview approaches by asking open-ended questions (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Bryman, 2001; Plummer 2001; Scott and Usher, 1999, 2000; Cohen et al., 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). The interviews were semi-structured, with the intention that they might lead to in-depth answers. The interviews were conducted in a normal everyday conversational style. This provided an opportunity to get even better acquainted with each other and build a further rapport with the participants because they were already my colleagues and personal acquaintances.

As we were already personally acquainted, rather than asking a formal question, I told the participants that my research was about stories of learning. I then asked them *to share their critical incidents and their stories of learning during childhood*.

4.15 Participants as Teachers - Interview –

Interview 2 (Conducted May – November 2009)

Prior to the follow-up Interview 2, the transcribed interview file, both a soft copy (audio file) and a hard copy (with translations of any Urdu or Punjabi that was spoken during the interviews), was E-mailed to the participants for their comments. This was useful to try to fine-tune or calibrate the data for a better understanding, for clarification and any elaboration or even the deletion of information. Thus, participants were invited to be further involved in the data as co-researchers. The participants appreciated the inclusiveness but did not show any active involvement in fine-tuning the transcripts or in correcting any information.

The second interview was conducted after two years, during which period more literature was gathered and notes and transcripts of Interview 1 were analysed. The following questions were asked:

1. How would you describe yourself as a teacher (teaching EFL)?
2. What metaphors would you use for yourself, as a teacher?

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with both Fatima and Tehmina. Afshaan, at this time, had resigned from her job at GCU and was working in Pakistan. Her interview was conducted by telephone. Each interview lasted around 30 minutes.

The participants' expositions in response to these questions constituted the main source of the data. The interviews were taped and then transcribed (with translations of any Urdu or Punjabi spoken). Geertz (1999) recommends 'thick descriptions' to create the scene and make it more true to life. Therefore, I also took notes of the setting of the interview, both during the course of the interview and after the interview was over, thus giving completeness to the context of the 'syntax and semiotics' aspects recorded.

4.16 Participants: Follow-up Interview

Interview 3 (conducted May-June 2011)

Follow-up interviews with specific follow-up questions for clarification may help fill certain gaps in the interviews (Oppenheim, 2001). I planned to conduct a very short and factual enquiry (ibid). The questions were not open-ended or leading, but straightforward and to the point. However, if they so wished, the participants were free to elaborate on these just as in an interview.

Interview 3 of the study was undertaken to fill in gaps in the information given in the first two interviews about their teaching qualifications and experience. I prepared 8 questions in order to complete these gaps. My ninth question was asked to reconfirm their acceptance of the content of the two previous interviews which had been given to them in transcript form. The tenth question elicited their willingness to allow me to write about

any personal transformation that I had observed in them over the period of time that we had known each other – Tehmina since 1996, Fatima since 1999 and Afshaan since 2004.

Afshaan agreed to be interviewed over the phone after the questions were sent to her, as she was out of the country, Tehmina and Fatima agreed to meet me together in the office they shared. Before they were interviewed for the third time as a follow-up session on Interview 2, they were given the 10 questions to read and prepare (please see these below) with the following instructions:

As mentioned earlier confidentiality will be maintained and pseudonyms will be used for people and places (except, for cities in Pakistan). Please feel free not to respond to any question(s) that you think are private.

1. How/Why did you decide to become a teacher?
2. Which year did you start teaching?
3. Did you have any formal teaching qualifications before you started teaching?
4. Where was your first teaching experience? Year? Duration?
5. What did you start teaching and which subjects?
6. How many years of teaching experience did you have up to the date of first interview?
7. What are your qualifications? Specialisation? Place? Year(s)?
8. When did you join this university in (Month? Year?)
9. Do you have any comments on the transcript of last two interviews that you were sent?
10. Do you have any objections if I present my observations of you over this period of time?

They answered all 10 questions verbally (they had a printed copy of the questions that I again provided them which was in front of them during the interview) and took around 15 minutes each to do so. Their answers were audiotaped. Although they were given the questions prior to the interview, their responses seemed impromptu.

Once the formal question-and-answer sessions were over, both participants were eager to know more about my research (Lather, 1986). This was the first time they were engaged in a discussion about the research topic, and were nostalgic about Pakistan, their home country, which was the first country they had worked in. They also expressed how much they had enjoyed teaching students in Pakistan and favourably compared the maturity of the students there to those at GCU. The ensuing discussion, which was also audiotaped (with their consent), lasted a further 30 minutes.

The third participant, Afshaan, had left the country in 2007 and had been interviewed over the telephone for Interview 2. For Interview 3, I contacted her by E-mail and text message on 29th May 2011. She sent her responses via E-mail on the 16th of June 2011. It is difficult to estimate the time she spent thinking about and responding to these 10 questions. I also followed this up with a telephone conversation as mentioned earlier.

4.17 Data Analysis

As recommended by Bryman (2001), I read the data – the languages used were English, Urdu and Punjabi - several times and highlighted the themes and the main points related to my research question (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992) on a print-out of the transcripts. In addition, while listening to the audio-recordings, I noted and recorded the counter numbers of the relevant sections in the soft copy of my tapescript and on the computer. For quick reference, I created an index page to each of the transcripts and colour-coded the themes according to my research questions. I noticed certain patterns and codes of behaviour emerging. These were then underlined and colour-coded. I wrote the titles of the emerging themes in the margins of the transcripts. Furthermore, I looked for generic

features to see if there were any words or phrases that were common in the text (Spradley, 1980).

I created my own coding book by pulling together chunks of related and relevant information. I also organised overlapping and non-related information into a number of themes that corresponded to my research questions (Cohen et al., 2003). At times some data could have been fitted in more than one category, so I added to both and then read the text again to understand the way the meaning fitted in both (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). I also line-numbered my transcripts for quick reference and for cross-referencing (ibid).

Later on, I colour-coded concepts, giving them different headings and subheadings. After selecting relevant sections in the audio-tapes, I listened to those sections repeatedly and made a contents page and then a diagram (see Appendix), with the aim of keeping it very simple (Miles and Huberman, 1984). I then made a chart and a table with the relevant themes [see Appendix and Chapters 4 and 7 (Lieblich et al. 1998)]. To analyse Interview 3 questions, I used the same method of categorising relevant information according to the questions. The data is available in Appendix Table VII with the findings in table and chart form (see Appendix).

The tables that I created did not only help me to understand the data better but also aided me later in my data analyses and finding stages of my study. For example, Table 1 below gives information about the familial and educational background of the three participants in my study.

Table 1 Background Information and School			
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
Educational influence	Does not mention interest in reading at home.	Reading Urdu and English literature at home.	Read father's Urdu Digest magazines.
Parental support for daughters' education	Parents wanted daughters to have higher education and not marry them off early.	Father wanted all his children to have Master's degrees.	She and three siblings sent to English-medium school by parents in opposition to the extended family.
Languages	English+Urdu+Punjabi	English+Urdu+Punjabi	English+Urdu+Punjabi
Type of school	Attended elite, private school – Convent of Jesus and Mary, Lahore.	Attended all-girls modern government school, Rawal- pindi.	Attended best school in Sargodha which was a private Convent School.
Teachers	Foreign nuns	Female Pakistani Muslims	Irish nun as school Principal, a Pakistani nun, mainly local Christian female teachers, and a few Muslim female teachers; male science teacher.
Medium of instruction	English; Urdu was taught as one of the subjects	Some subjects taught in English, others in Urdu.	Some subjects were taught in English, some in Urdu.
School experience	<i>“Cried her eyes out”</i> when she would go to school due to the strict discipline there.	<i>“Nightmarish”</i> experience at school; often punished for laughing at teachers' English pronunciation.	Did not enjoy memorisation at school and grammar translation for learning English and Urdu.
Self-analysis	Came out of school a <i>“very insipid girl”</i> ; she <i>“rebelled”</i> at College.	Considered herself a <i>“brattish child”</i> [battamiz]; brought up to expect not to work.	<i>“Always criticised for reading”</i> at home.

4.18 Participants' Background Information and School

The background information of the 3 participants of my study summarised in Table 1 above, shows that their career trajectory is based on encouragement from their families to study and further their education and careers. They are all daughters of well-placed influential fathers who could afford, and valued, good schooling. This parental support, which made up part of their “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1991), was a paramount factor in enabling them to continue their educational paths, which eventually became teaching

careers The exposure to the English language in their homes and in their learning environments – their “linguistic capital” (Bourdieu, 1991) – further established their position in society This gave them the communication skills that enabled them to be hired as teachers, as none of them had had formal teacher training or a course in the theory of teaching (see Table 1 above) before they were employed.

4.19 Additional Data Collection

Besides the abovementioned method of data collection, there were also notes I had made during and after the interviews. These notes were a valuable documentary tool that enabled me to record descriptions and details, followed by my reflections, of the process of coming to certain conclusions (Janesick, 2003). If no conclusions could be drawn, then these notes helped in formulating more questions. In addition, as mentioned in the previous chapter, I, as the researcher will be also used as a resource (Collins, 2010). These were my multiple sources of data gathering techniques where I gathered rich data of a phenomenological nature.

It has also been suggested that photographs and diaries of the participants be used to gather more information or that photographic logs be kept by the researcher (Collins, 2010). However, photographs only capture moments in time, and as such, are only static representations of those moments. Although they can be useful, I did not take photographs of the participants’ houses as it seemed too intrusive.

I was able to exchange emails with some Pakistani researchers in Islamabad and Karachi, Pakistan. They helped me with the names of some books and articles that they had published in Pakistan. I made yearly trips to Pakistan, from 2002 – 2010, to collect relevant materials in the form of books which are only published there.

I also visited women’s centres in Lahore to collect information on the status of women in Pakistan. Prior to my visit to Lahore in January 2009, contacts were made through my mother-in-law, Mrs. M.H. Sherazee, (real name by permission), the President of the

Pakistan Society for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled, Lahore, Pakistan. This was time-effective as the meetings were arranged, directions to the venue given and the driver and transport arranged, to visit two Women's Organisations: Shirkat Gah Women's Resource Centre and Simorgh Women's Resource and Publication Centre.

The above-mentioned approaches to collect relevant information in Pakistan are the "Physical Access" and the "Social Access" in research that Shah (2004) also mentions in her study (Shah, 2004:558- 559). Information in Pakistan is not easily available without personal contacts. Interviews and visits can be arranged by family members who are well-placed and well-known in the country, so they can arrange meetings in advance. As Shah puts it, "social obligations, cultural patterns and conventions facilitate access in collective cultures for the 'insider-researcher' (Shah, 2004: 558). This was also the case in Lila Abu-Lughod's field-work as she was taken by her Arab father to a village and introduced to the host family (Abu- Lughod, 1988).

Summary of Chapter 4

It is through narratives that we understand ourselves and how we construct our lives, thus subjectively deriving meaning through our interactions in the 'real world' (Mead, 1934) rather than from an objectified truth. The more stories we hear, the richer our dialogue becomes (Bakhtin, 1981). Narrative stories may become a centerpiece and a mode of inquiry for teachers to make sense of their personal and professional lives (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000; Clandinin et al., 2010; Goodson, 1992; Cortazzi and Jin, 2006; Bridges, 2006).

The narrative process is an essential part of my research through which participants become, to a certain extent, co-narrators. My empirical study is participant-driven and participant-based. The research is not bounded by fixed and set questions, but is guided by semi-structured interviews conducted face-to-face which will make for a more comfortable ambience. This in turn may lead to better understanding and insights. Furthermore, the semi-structured approach is used so that during the course of the

interviews, the participants may delve into issues through their narratives that I, as the researcher, may not have considered. This might stimulate, generate and highlight other issues which perhaps may not have been considered by me, the researcher, prior to the interviews (Stanley, 1993; Freeman and Brockmeier, 2001; Freeman, 2007; Trahar, 2007).

In Chapter 5 the narrative interview data will be analysed. The findings will be presented descriptively and analytically.

Chapter 5: Findings and Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

Tehmina, Afshaan and Fatima were the three Pakistani Muslim female expatriate teachers of English language interviewed to narrate their developmental stages as learners and teachers. All three teachers have at least one Master's degree and were teaching at the same Arabian Gulf University (GCU).

The aim was to first learn about their reflections as learners and teachers of English language in their own country of birth (Pakistan), and then to learn of their reflections as teachers in another Muslim country at GCU where they all taught. The reflections included the perceptions they had of themselves as teachers and what (if any) metaphors they used while describing their identities as teachers.

My main research question is:

How has the life history and experiences of expatriate Pakistani teachers (of English language) as students in Pakistan, shaped their current identity as expatriate English language teachers?

The more specific questions the study explores are:

1. What were their experiences as learners?
2. What were their experiences as teachers?
3. How do they describe themselves as teachers? What metaphors would they use to describe themselves as teachers?

During the course of the interviews, and while reading and coding the interview transcripts, it became apparent that the participants narrated certain critical incidents related to their lives in response to my questions, but also brought up other issues that had not been asked of them. As this study is participant-driven, this has led to emerging themes related to their Pakistani family and cultural backgrounds as women being educated and teaching in Pakistan and abroad.

The information gleaned from the participants of this study is based on each participant being interviewed three times (Interview 1 June 2006- January 2007, Interview 2, May-November 2009 and Interview 3, May - June 2011). These interviews were standardised only in so far as they all consisted of the same open-ended questions. The participants' recall and reflection regarding specific past events were expressed in a narrative form and their responses were highly individualised in so far as they spent varying amounts of time in answering each question. This is reflected in the amount of information garnered from the responses to each question in the interviews conducted with each participant.

In this chapter, a descriptive and analytical narrative profile for each participant follows in order to paint a portrait of each participant and quotes from the participants' responses have also been given. The profiles and common themes have been derived from all three interviews with each participant.

The Narrative Profiles for each individual participant, Tehmina, Afshaan and Fatima have been organised as follows:

Background information

School experience

Tertiary experience

As a teacher

5.2 Narrative Profile: Tehmina

5.2.i Background Information (Interview 1)

Tehmina, born in 1960, grew up in a family that had high socio-economic status. Her father was a senior civil servant who worked for Radio Pakistan. She is the youngest of 5 siblings of whom the eldest is the only brother. She comes from a family that has given her the means to be educated and she and her siblings were all expected to "complete their education", which meant doing a Master's degree. Her brother has an M.A. and an

M.B.A. and was educated in the armed forces. Her sisters all have a Master's degree also - one sister has an M.A. in English like Tehmina, one in Chemistry and one in Psychology.

She had a bilingual environment at home, where Urdu and Punjabi were spoken. She describes her mother as “a simple woman”, who was “not well-versed in English”. Her mother mainly spoke in Punjabi – Tehmina elaborates that she could not speak in Urdu for more than ten minutes and Tehmina and her siblings would laugh at their mother because of this. Although her mother's spoken Urdu was limited, she was “very very fond of reading” in Urdu. Tehmina's focus on her mother's language competency in Urdu and English (both not indigenous languages to the region), shows the higher status given to these two languages. Urdu is the national language and English the official language, whereas Punjabi does not have the same cachet as it is the regional language.

According to Tehmina, her intellectual development took place more at home than in school. Of her home environment, she says, “a lot of creativity was taught at home; that is where I got my love for English and Urdu literature; I got that from my father” (Interview 1). It is unusual in most Pakistani households for the father to take an interest in and encourage his daughter's intellectual interests.

5.2.ii School Experience (Interview 1)

Tehmina attended an all-girls' government Model School in Rawalpindi, Punjab (see Figures 1 and 2) where both Urdu and English were taught “right from the beginning”. It was a “top of the range” Government school. English was taught as a subject, as it was in all Government schools. She adds that English and Urdu “came very spontaneously because they were in the surroundings”; Tehmina read a lot and languages came easily to her.

Tehmina's father had selected this Urdu-medium school for Tehmina instead of the English-medium convent school her older sisters had attended because the convent

school had not taught Urdu and Islamic Studies from the primary level. There was a large age-gap between Tehmina and her siblings (12 years and more) and time had allowed her father to reconsider the kind of school he wanted to send Tehmina to. He had observed and reflected on the effects of the lack of these subjects in the education of his older daughters and he wanted a more traditional type of education for his youngest daughter Tehmina.

Tehmina describes her teachers as “very very typical” and “traditional”. She did not enjoy their teaching style and made fun of their English pronunciation. While reflecting on her childhood learning experiences, Tehmina disapproves of the traditional mode of teaching where, “we were just there to absorb and sit and we were just to do as we were told to do”. She gave the example of the struggles she had with mathematics, where she felt “completely off the track”, as there was no interaction. She couldn’t even ask questions, because she couldn’t follow anything, as the subject had not been explained to her. Had Tehmina’s teachers encouraged student participation and made the lessons student-centred, this issue may not have occurred. She adds that she “never really enjoyed school...it was very nightmarish”.

Tehmina criticises the discrepancies in the educational system in Pakistan, and talks of a “lack of grooming” in students coming from Urdu-medium Government schools (Here, it seems she was not including herself in this statement despite her own school being a Government school). She considers the “personality of the teacher” to be very important in an educational environment, as it is one of the ways to “groom” students so that they behave properly in society. This comment was made in reference to her negative view of the behaviour of Pakistanis she has observed overseas.

Tehmina describes the current state of government schools as “absolutely vile”. She says that there are more private schools emerging in Pakistan as the government schools are not doing their job. Tehmina feels “there is something seriously wrong” with the present (2006, at the time of Interview I) education system in Pakistan. Although she herself

went to a modern government school, she reflects that “now...government education is in a pathetic state in Pakistan.” Her modern government school (attended in the late 1960s and early 1970s), has now, she says with a sigh, “totally crumbled”.

5.2.iii Tertiary Experience (Interview 1)

At college doing her B.A., she dropped out of the elective Persian course because students were expected to memorise grammatical rules and vocabulary. She had problems because she “really had to understand”. She was not good at simply memorising.

Tehmina’s educational turning point came after she finished her Bachelor’s degree. She was offered a place in Lahore to do a Master’s degree in Political Science, but as this would have meant living in a hostel in a different city, her father did not agree. Instead, she remained in her home city Rawalpindi, and did her Master’s degree in English Literature, a subject she also enjoyed.

Tehmina repeatedly mentions the importance of the English language in Pakistan and she says that it gives people confidence in themselves. She recalls an incident when her best friend from school wanted to study English Literature despite being advised by the English teacher to join the Urdu Department to study M.A. Urdu (as she had been an exceptional student of Urdu Literature in her B.A.). However, she enrolled in the English M.A. classes on her parents’ advice who thought there would be better prospects for her getting a good marriage proposal. This is a telling anecdote about how knowing English is perceived in Pakistani society. Now this friend is married to a person in the U.S.A. and she speaks (and Tehmina says this in Urdu) – fluent English and they both think back at the time when they were students and laugh about it.

Her learning experience in her Master’s in English Literature was more interactive than her experience at school and during her B.A. Here she was able to have “really good, interesting class discussions” with the teachers.

5.2.iv As a Teacher (Interviews 1, 2, 3)

Tehmina had no plans of working. She says, “I did M.A. Literature for me...I had no ideas. No clue that I would get a job because I am doing a Master’s in English Literature”. Of becoming a teacher, she says, there was “no formal thought process. It was accidental”. Even though she had no teacher training, Tehmina was invited by a friend to teach in a school after she sat her M.A. English Literature examinations (in 1987) even before her results were announced.

After teaching for a year and a half, another friend informed her that there was a “dire need” for teachers at the coeducational National Institute of Modern Languages (NIML), Islamabad (run by the Pakistani Armed Forces). At this stage, she had her Master’s in English Literature but still no formal teaching qualifications. She was employed as a part-time teacher at NIML where she taught English language “interpretation” (translation) courses in the foundation programme to both foreign and Pakistani students who wanted to improve their English proficiency.

There was an in-service teacher training system carried out at NIML. Classes were observed by the Colonel in-charge, a report was then given to the teacher, along with feedback on the observations. This Tehmina describes, as her “induction” into teaching. The Colonel, who appears to have been her mentor and role-model (because of the way she continues to talk about him), would observe classes and “we [the teachers at NIML] could not even write a single word on the board which was not part of the lesson plan”. There was a lot of emphasis on a highly structured way of teaching and classroom management; boardwork and discipline were part of her training.

While teaching at NIML, Tehmina also started evening classes to study for a Master’s in TEFL (Teaching of English as a Foreign Language) from Islamabad. She did not complete this Master’s because she was working and looking after her two children while her husband was away studying overseas. She did, however, receive a Diploma in TEFL

which she says, “gave me an excellent foundation to build on” and affected her subsequent teaching.

Learning to teach language opened up other future job opportunities for her. She says, “I was privileged to teach language and learned how to teach language, otherwise I would have gone and taught literature the way I have studied literature”. Here Tehmina is emphasising the importance of being trained as a language teacher. Had she not been trained, and had she been teaching literature, she would have used the same teaching methodology that her literature teachers had used.

Through her training she found that she was exposed to new ideas and therefore new opportunities; “[the training] really opened avenues for me. It was very rigorous”. She was taught to teach writing and grammar. Studying for, and getting the TEFL diploma, was responsible for the turn that her career took on her path to EFL teaching which subsequently helped her to be employed at GCU.

While teaching in Pakistan at NIML she had adopted a “very very formal form of teaching...from classroom discipline to [her] interaction with the students to what is being done in the class”. As a teacher at NIML, she had to follow the lesson plan. She admires that type of “induction” because the manner in which the course had to be taught was unambiguously specific. This is an interesting reflection because it clearly shows her cut-and-dried approach to teaching.

Tehmina joined her husband at GCU where he had been teaching since September 1996. She started teaching there as a part-time teacher from the end of 1996 for a few years, after which she was appointed as a full-time teacher. Having taught at GCU for about ten years, she says that she is what she is as a teacher because of what she had learnt at NIML. Recalling her teaching there, she says, “my classroom management and my classroom control of the students was always there”. Perhaps her military style of training is what she emphasises when she speaks of being “organised”, “in control” of her class,

having discipline, a "structure" and "clear parameters in class". She emphatically adds, even as a trainee in Islamabad, "things never got out of hand; I could take them [the students] where I wanted them to go". This points clearly to Tehmina's controlled approach to teaching.

Tehmina believes that it is possible to "train the students" to follow lessons in class the way the teacher has planned. She says, "I get down to business" and she is able to achieve her objective. She adds, "if you digress, then the objective will not be achieved". She candidly admits that some students find her "very dry and uninteresting", as she "does not digress", but her course evaluation by students at GCU is never below 85% of them approving of her teaching. Speaking of her teaching method, she continues, "my strong point", is, "my classroom never gets out of control" because she sets "very clear parameters", and sees to it that they are followed. If they are not, she comes, "down on them [the students] very harshly and they know that". Then she adds, in Urdu (with a laugh), "everyone is concerned about their self-respect" so no one disobeys her. Tehmina's emphasis on "control" and "taking the students" where she wants them to go, is contrary to her biography as a learner. She herself preferred having interactive classes rather than sitting and "absorbing" what the teacher said, so this is a telling contradiction between her views as a learner and those as a teacher.

Even in the second interview after two years, Tehmina reiterates the point that she is "very strict" as a teacher. She thinks that she has a professional approach to teaching because she gives academic "tips and techniques" to students but does not get involved with their personal problems.

When Tehmina first joined GCU in 1996, she felt that she "had to come down" as a teacher because the level of students was "about four years behind" (she says in this in Urdu). Tehmina does not encourage any "haha, hoho" in class – by this she means levity in the classroom. She does not approve of using any "childish language learning games" because she treats her students as university students which is as they should be treated.

She adds, “there is nothing wrong with their brains, it is only that they do not know English”.

She compares her teaching experiences in Pakistan and GCU. In Pakistan, the teaching was “very very enlightening...because the students were very highly motivated there and they demanded a lot”. This could be because they were fee-paying and in a competitive educational environment. On the other hand, at GCU, education and educational materials are free and the students also get a living allowance which may have made a difference to their motivational level. She adds the Pakistani students’ “attitude towards learning was mature” as they have been exposed to more life experiences. The difference in attitudes of the Pakistani and GCU students also could have been because the Pakistani fee-paying students may have been learning for more instrumental reasons such as getting a job.

Tehmina gives the impression of being the kind of teacher who can work well in a very structured and organised manner. She wants to be well-prepared to answer the students’ questions connected to the curriculum.

5.3 Narrative Profile: Afshaan

5.3.i Background Information (Interview 1)

Born in 1960, Afshaan was the eldest of four children (one brother and two sisters). Her father was a lawyer and her mother had not finished school. They lived in an extended family environment in Sargodha, Punjab. Her family were well-established land-owners (*zamindar*) in Sargodha, and her extended family in the city alone consisted of about 500 people. She came from a background where the male members were well-educated. Her paternal grandfather (one of seven brothers) was a surgeon in the 1950s.

Afshaan’s spoken language at home was Punjabi. She was also exposed to English because her uncle had a foreign English-speaking wife. She learnt to read Urdu from

around the age of 9, by reading the Urdu Digest that her father read. Amongst other family members at home however, “there was not a very established reading culture”, and Afshaan was “always criticised for reading”. However, she continued with her reading which shows her determination to follow her own interests, even at a relatively young age.

5.3.ii School Experience (Interview 1)

Her father was a “quiet man”, who did not express his views, and her mother was not a strong woman. However, both had the courage to stand up against the extended family and send her at age 5 (and her siblings) to a coeducational local private convent school. This was a huge step for her parents as the rest of the children in this extended family were being sent to local Urdu-medium government schools. Ordinarily, her parents were not “outspoken” as in “a huge joint family”, one “learns to be submissive”. She says, “I wonder where my parents got the courage to put us through the convent”, as it would not have been very easy to stand up to the extended family but they wanted them to be “well-educated” which was equated with studying in an English-medium convent school. It was not a commonplace occurrence for the children of landowners to be sent to a Christian school while living in a rural area where social networks are very closely-knit.

The school was coeducational up to the primary level, after which it was an all-girls’ school. Her school was anglicised, but also included Pakistani culture. The school day began with Christian hymns followed by the Pakistani national anthem. She considers the coeducational part of her schooling to be very unusual as it was in an extremely conservative society which was “very feudal”. Reflecting in 2007 on that time (1969), she wonders how such coeducation was accepted by her (extended) family, and whether it would be accepted in the same “feudal” society today.

Afshaan described her convent school as “not of the first grade kind”, not up to the same standard as the convents in the bigger cities like Lahore. In her school, subjects were taught in both English and Urdu. When asked about her school experience, Afshaan does

not reflect on whether she enjoyed her school experience, but says that the way in which they were taught English and Urdu at school was through “a very heavy focus on grammar” and an emphasis on translation - from Urdu into English and vice-versa. There could have been two possible reasons for this method of teaching: first, the school curriculum could have required this translation method of teaching, and secondly, the teachers themselves may have thought this method to be the most appropriate one for teaching language.

She recounts her joy of reading, not only Urdu, but also English books which she borrowed from the school library. She discusses the lack of a systematic approach to book-lending at school. She explains that one book a week was assigned by the teacher but there was no follow-up as to whether the student had enjoyed or even read the book. This, she says, was not conducive to developing reading habits. It seems clear that this experience may have had a strong influence on her subsequent approach to teaching reading.

Afshaan talks about her experience of learning the Qur'an when she was of school age. The *Maulvi* (religious teacher) would come to the house and teach. The emphasis was on proper and correct (Arabic) pronunciation and on memorising parts of the Qur'an by heart. She found this process boring and tedious as there was no focus on understanding, and as a result, at that time, she only managed to read a very small part of the Qur'an.

Her recounting of this learning phase in her life, where she is critical of the traditional method of learning to read the Qur'an, points out clearly to the importance she places on understanding what is read, especially because this traditional method of learning the Qur'an is normally accepted without any fault-finding or criticism.

5.3.iii Tertiary Experience (Interview 1)

Afshaan, at the age of around 17 (1981) left Sargodha (a rural area) for a prestigious girls' college in Lahore (a large city) where she had to live in a hostel. Whilst her parents

supported her move, “other family members [and]...a lot of other people raised a lot of questions”. The reputation of the girls who went to the college she was going to was that they “were supposed to be very exposed and very outgoing”. They feared “she will become a rebel...and may not be able to hold onto the values of our family”. Looking back, she wonders how her father was able to stand up to that family pressure because the conservative feudal extended-family that she belonged to did not approve of girls living away from the family.

In the context of her extended family’s opposition to her college move, Afshaan reflects that although “I was very ill-exposed and I knew what I was heading for, and I knew I could handle that. That is what also what made me resolve to overcome the opposition that I see from my other family [extended family. A literal translation from Urdu ‘*doosray rishteydaar*’, meaning ‘other relatives’]...and in the end Alhamdulillah (thanks to God) nobody could ever you know, say bad about, that okay, my parents made the wrong decision”. She enjoyed her new environment, although she had some learning difficulties, she reflected, “I am not a student who does well in the structured learning atmosphere”. She discovered much later that she is dyslexic which went towards explaining her learning problems at that time.

Afshaan experienced some difficulties on the academic side because of the emphasis on memorisation. “In those times, up to Bachelor [B.A.] all your exams would be how well you could rote learn, how well you could cram, and how well you could reproduce”. She continues, “You could not possibly write an essay of your understanding or establish your point of view or something, it was cramming and reproducing.” In 1983, in the final year of her B.A., Afshaan, when she was 19, married a barrister 10 years her senior. She could not sit her final exam papers due to her pregnancy and morning-sickness.

There was a turning point in Afshaan’s life about a year-and-a-half after she was married when a seven-and-a-half-minute conversation changed the course of her life. At a barrister’s party she met a politician’s wife, who was a lecturer at a college. She

encouraged Afshaan to complete her final examinations for her B.A. Following that conversation, during which she was encouraged to do something for herself, rather than expect her husband “to entertain” her after marriage, she sent her child to stay with her mother for a month-and-a-half. She then prepared for her two incomplete papers, sat for the examinations and passed them, thus completing her B.A.

5.3.iv As a Teacher (Interviews 1, 2, 3)

Afshaan began teaching in 1988, without any teacher training qualifications, at an NGO (Non-governmental organisation) school (SOS-Hermann Gmeiner) for about 16 months. Later she joined a prestigious coeducational private school (her children’s school, Beaconhouse, established in the late 1970s). While teaching, she was given an opportunity to do an in-service course in Education which was locally offered by Bradford University, UK. She decided however to opt for the (lower) Certificate in teaching rather than do an M.A., because by that time her old college (Kinnaird) had started offering evening classes in M.A. Linguistics. Her desire now was to “make a move in life” and become a lecturer at her old college with this new degree.

Afshaan chose linguistics rather than English literature because she knew she would have had to memorise large sections of text for the literature courses. She was unable to memorise large chunks of text, due to her “learning disability” – her dyslexia. She valued understanding over memorisation (as we earlier saw with her reflections on the method of teaching the Qur’an). It was the pedagogical approach of memorisation that also discouraged Afshaan from doing a law degree - she had attended a law college for a short period of time. Applied linguistics appealed to her as it required understanding whereas studying literature and law would have meant committing large swathes of text to memory.

Afshaan enjoyed being a student of linguistics because “there was nothing expected of [her] to be rote learned and reproduced” and she thought that, “ideas would be thrown” at her, and that she “would be exposed to theories”. She looked forward to learning with

understanding when she was exposed to a new style of teaching. She reflected, “I could evaluate them [the theories] and either appreciate them or reject” them. She looked forward to making choices and using her initiative as a learner. She added, “the education concept changed for me”. This was a different way of learning for her now that she knew memorisation and rote learning were not conducive to her long-term understanding of any subject.

When Afshaan started her M.A. evening classes, her aim was to become a lecturer in linguistics and leave school teaching. Her teachers at Kinnaird were “foreign-educated”, (one of whom was Fatima, a participant of this study). She says, “I felt that I needed to go abroad and top up my degree”. The implication of this statement is clear – she perceived a foreign qualification as possessing a higher status than a Pakistani qualification. The female teachers at Kinnaird mostly “came from well-to-do families”. She looked up to her female teachers who “were all very established women” in their careers, and at the same time, came from “strong families, where their women are expected to play their role, you know, active role in the family circles.” Afshaan admired their ability to balance successful careers whilst juggling with the duties expected of them as women at home.

Afshaan felt inspired by her teachers who were role models for her and showed her a different way to live. For Afshaan, the motivations to study overseas were professional development, as well as more exposure to acquire knowledge, and to “evolve and absorb”. She wanted to improve on her present educational status. She adds, “I couldn’t see myself being held back for any reason”. She felt that she had the ability and the support to go abroad and study. This encouraged her to leave her children behind and go abroad. Afshaan was motivated to do this, in spite of it being “a difficult scenario” in Pakistan. Afshaan relates that in Pakistani culture, a woman going away from home by herself “would only be termed as if her marriage is a problem and has ended”. Then she adds, while “thousands of husbands [were] going away”, it is “absolutely unheard of for a woman going away to facilitate herself...regarding her education or her career”. Afshaan showed the same determination to go against the norm, by leaving her husband and

children to study abroad, that her parents had showed when they sent her and her siblings to the Convent school. It appears that for both her and her parents, the aims of their courses of action were more important than societal conventions.

Afshaan went to Leeds University in the United Kingdom where she did a one-year Master's in Education and Linguistics (1999-2000). This was an educational culture shock for her because she entered a totally different educational system with different methods and different expectations of students. She "struggled" with developing ideas but learnt how to start her essay, how to develop her arguments, and how to end it, all the while thinking on her own. She experienced this as an onerous task because this is not what she was "conditioned to" in Pakistan.

In the first interview Afshaan stresses the language skills of "skimming and scanning" for teaching reading at GCU. She is also "student-focused" and trains students to be independent learners and thinkers. However, she finds that they still depend on rote-learning while preparing for exams and do not perform as well in the final exams as they do in the term tests. They revert to their old school habits of rote-learning and reproducing. She adds that with time they can improve their study habits but they are only in a certain class level for about 7 weeks. So it is almost impossible to help them to have enough self-confidence to forget the learning habits that they have acquired for about 12 years in the school system before they come to GCU.

When asked for her reflections about her teaching experience in Pakistan (Second interview, May, 2009), Afshaan says that within the country, there are "very varied educational systems". The "students expect to be spoon-fed" and need a lot of "guidance towards planning their studies". Her emphasis was on study skills and "thinking skills" that could be improved to enhance students' learning to help them become independent learners.

Afshaan was reflective of the change in her teaching style after her time at GCU (in 2007). She had started a new teaching post in Pakistan (two years after her first interview). In this Second interview, she discusses the difference in her methodological approach to teaching. She is now more “student-focused” rather than being “teacher-focused” and “curriculum-driven”. This is evident from her elaborations of her teaching scenarios that follow.

Afshaan now considers herself “lenient” as a teacher because she can empathise with the students due to her own “learning disability”. She says that because of this, “my marking has always been more lenient” and “accommodating”. She appears to empathise with the students as “learners” and seems to do so as a result of reflecting on her own experiences as a struggling learner.

She thinks she has become student-oriented and “not the centre of stage as before”. Her teaching had started off as being teacher-centred but now she says that she has had her “fill” of that way of teaching. She explains that now she is focused on “moving more towards empowering [her] students to learn for themselves”.

Afshaan explains that students need to be made “aware” of how to improve their study skills. She constantly speaks of her learning problems at college level. She wants to make students apply what they learn and encourages them to make “connections” in their learning and to make a plan – a path they need to follow to become “independent and active learners”. She wants her students to “break away from rote-learning” and reproduction. In this way she is not only focussing on covering the syllabus (by not being “curriculum-driven”), but instead is spending class time on teaching learning techniques such as study skills.

Afshaan has evolved over time as a teacher who is more reflective of her teaching. “I would say only experience could have brought this”. Here is an example of an educator who has been deeply self-reflective. This has been due to her own initiative as a reflective

teacher rather than reflection and change being enforced upon on her from within the educational institution.

5.4. Narrative Profile: Fatima

5.4.i Background Information (Interview 1)

Fatima, the second child of four children, was born in 1964. Her mother was ‘married off’ to Fatima’s father, a banker, after finishing her O-levels at a convent school in her late teens. Her parents are both from Lahore; they are well-placed and socialise in elite circles. Fatima grew up speaking Punjabi at home, and was also exposed to Urdu and English as part of her linguistic environment.

5.4.ii School Experience (Interview 1)

Fatima’s schooling was in Lahore. She went to a coeducational private convent school until primary, after which she attended an all-girl’s school. The medium of instruction at Fatima’s convent school was English for all subjects except Urdu and Islamic Studies.

Going to school was not a pleasant experience for Fatima but appeared to be a frightening experience. Recalling her experiences, she starts by asking herself a lot of rhetorical questions which she later on tries to answer herself. She says, “Why didn’t we enjoy school? Why were we so afraid? I remember I hated going to school. I would cry my eyes out”. She later explains, “When I analyse and I recall, I think it had a lot to do with teachers and the discipline of the convent”. She goes on to say that, as students, they were even told how to walk in a certain manner and if they did not do their homework, “it was the end of life for you”. These strict regulations she thinks “destroyed [her] entire personality” and “I came out of school a very insipid girl who was afraid of everything – I didn’t want to upset the apple cart”. She tried to behave in a way that was “accepted” by her society. Fatima speaks of “a lot of discipline” being used in her home life as well; her mother used the same discipline as the convent school that she attended.

One early critical challenge that Fatima mentions is studying multiplication tables and mathematics at school in Class 3 or 4. She could not learn information that was not accompanied by an explanation so she was “unable to master tables” and considered this “a stumbling block to learning”. Therefore, she thinks she “developed a kind of a psychological wall” around her that prevented her learning mathematics. She reflects that everything she did later “was like a reaction to maths.” At that stage of her learning, she reasoned to herself, “Since I cannot do maths therefore I cannot do science. Since I cannot do maths I cannot go and do MBA.” She “developed a paranoia” for mathematics and narrowed her options for her further education which limited her career prospects. She wonders whether this “paranoia” was because of the way mathematics was taught, or because of the teacher, or whether it was “the fear of rejection, the fear of failure...but I had decided that I cannot do this.” Looking back at that experience, she reasons, “It was quite simple, if only someone had explained it to me.”

Fatima also says that her teachers “did not have the fire” for their subjects, so they could not pass on the passion for learning to their students. Fatima feels that this hindered her own desire to learn and apply knowledge. Instead, education simply became about doing what was expected in order to achieve good grades. This “fire” – her description for passion – appeared only later, and that rarely, in her college years.

5.4. iii Tertiary Experience (Interview 1)

Fatima and her friends opted to take Islamic Studies as an elective at college since it was considered a subject one could do well in because it involved rote learning and reproduction (she says this in Urdu). According to Fatima, even nowadays, Islamic Studies is taught in the same traditional way. Looking back as a teacher now at that experience she wonders, “my God, how did we abuse the education system [taking Islamic Studies as a way to achieve good marks]. Is it the system, is it the methodology... are there other factors?” Thinking back from her present position as a teacher, she questions the Pakistani educational system.

Fatima described her teachers at Kinnaird College, Lahore as being a ‘mixed bag’. She was inspired by some, but others “kind of sleep-walked through the whole thing”. They mainly had a traditional approach to teaching where the stress was on rote-learning without focus on explanation or understanding. She describes this as “bad teaching” because the teachers were “frustrated with life”. They were underpaid and therefore did not make any extra effort in the classroom. To earn extra money, they would give evening classes in different homes. She continues, “They also have to make both ends meet and make do and make up on their own frustrations, so sadly that kind of fire that should have come from within them and which should have come to us never happened”. She adds, “So we were not really connected...we were not inspired”. For Fatima learning at this level was a tedious process.

Fatima recalls one inspirational teacher she had while doing her B.A. at Kinnaird College. This teacher was a Christian Pakistani, also convent school-educated. She had attended the same school as Fatima and was only a few years older than her. Fatima found that this teacher would apply literature to real life, she said, “She would relate everything that we had read, she would relate the written word to real life experiences...this is how we started to make connections also, and that is how literature became a life for us, especially for me.” She was inspired to do a Master’s degree in English literature “just because of her”. It is interesting to note that Fatima mentions the religion of her inspirational teacher. This may have been because she considered her to be different from the norm.

While studying the *Mill on the Floss* at the age of 20 (1984), when Zia-ul-Haq was President of the country, “women did feel a little frustrated, and women were suppressed, like what Maggie Tulliver is going through. She is trying to reach out, but her family is pulling her back.” She continues that most of the women in Pakistan, even now, are going through this same frustrating experience.

This teacher of Fatima's "made me think, analyse and I think it is because of her or because of all that we were doing at that time that you know, I am able to read between the lines". This proved to be a turning-point in Fatima's life. The ability to understand subtext and understand people was considered by Fatima to not only be a part of academic learning, but also "a life skill, a skill for life" as she says she can "understand people" better. It appears from these statements that Fatima was applying her learning to her life experiences.

The zeitgeist at the time of Fatima's tertiary education in the 1980s manifested itself in a "general air of resignation" in Zia-ul-Haq's Pakistan, with the country under Martial Law and in the process of enacting retrogressive laws, especially with regards to women. She considers herself very lucky that her parents were "broad-minded" and did not marry her off before college. Instead, she was "allowed" to continue her studies at tertiary level. Society was changing and becoming more conservative. People would say, "how good girls should be" which indicates a growing pressure on young girls at the time to conform to societal expectations.

Fatima was aware that she was very fortunate that her "parents were very progressive-minded as "many girls were married off after Matric" [Matriculation is after 10 classes of study]; the attitude was, "get her married in F.A. [Fellow of Arts, after Matriculation]" (this she said in Urdu). Although she, "was not pushed into that", she says, pointing to the current of social pressures at the time, "you are affected by the environment generally. It is very much there, it's a reality".

5.4.iv As a Teacher (Interviews 1, 2, 3)

Fatima was offered a job at her own college (Kinnaird) to teach B.A. and M.A. students even before her M.A. exam results were out. The offer may have been made only to accomplished and competent students. Although she hadn't put any "formal thought" into teaching becoming her career, she felt honoured being offered the position, so she accepted the job and started teaching in 1989.

She described her teaching style in stan as a collaborative effort between herself and the students, and she thought of her teaching role as a ‘facilitator’. This was because she found the English literature students to be exposed to many different ideas about people and society which were brought up during their class discussions.

Fatima had no training when she began her teaching career, and after several years of teaching at Kinnaird, she got a certificate in teaching English language in 1996 from the British Council in Lahore. Soon after this, when she was looking for a career change, and while still employed at Kinnaird, she got a partial scholarship to study for an M.A. in Educational Management at Nottingham University in the UK (1998-1999). She had difficulties adjusting to the new pedagogical demands in the U.K. because her learning experience in Pakistan had been very different. She had an educational culture shock and found herself “at sea”. She was at a loss as to how to study independently and without the guidance that she as a teacher gave her own students. She expected her teachers to tell her what to do. Despite these challenges, she found that she grew a lot as a person and learned how to depend on herself.

Fatima describes it as ironic that whilst she tried to get out of teaching, she is still teaching literature and language, but now in the Arabian Gulf. She joined GCU on the 1st of February, 1999, soon after completing her M.A. from Nottingham.

Fatima discussed how she has adapted her style of teaching to fit the type of coeducational English literature students that she has had at GCU. She has had to try and understand the cultural context that the students at GCU come from. She became more sensitised to her students’ culture once she realised that university education was still quite new in the educational environment of the country and that most of her students came from the less-sophisticated interior of the country. So she had to stop comparing them to the type of “mature”, “culturally-sophisticated” and “aware” students that she was used to teaching at Master’s level in her college in Pakistan. She finds that,

culturally, Pakistani society is more open to diversity compared to the Arabian Gulf, and as a result, the Pakistani students were more mature at grasping new ideas compared to the students at GCU.

Fatima describes herself as a strict and “very serious” teacher at GCU who does not like “frivolity” and sets very clear ground rules for her students right at the beginning of the course. However, she considers her teaching methods to be effective because she mentions former students coming and telling her that they had been afraid of her in class, but that it had been good for them. She recalls ex-students telling her “We were afraid of you but today we are thankful for what you did to us then, the way you pushed us”. With a very satisfied look she adds, “So...that makes me happy”. These teaching scenarios, related by Fatima, confirmed that being “serious” and putting fear in the hearts of the students was a teaching technique she thought beneficial and useful.

Fatima has high expectations of herself and also her students. This is shown through her emphasis on time-management and efficiency. In the classroom she is focused on the task at hand, on her lesson plan and on meeting her teaching objectives.

Summary of Chapter 5

All 3 participants, Tehmina, Afshaan and Fatima, come from Punjabi-speaking families where the fathers had tertiary education and the mothers had some schooling. There was also exposure to Urdu and English at home. The immediate families of all 3 participants had the means, accompanied by the willingness, to educate them. However, Afshaan’s parents had to contend with the opposition of the extended family to send her to an English-speaking convent school. The paths taken by the participants to obtain their post-graduate degrees took different turns. In Tehmina’s case, it was an unambiguous given that she and her siblings were to get M.A.s. There was opposition to Afshaan’s tertiary education by her extended family which her parents overcame. Then her studies for her B.A. were interrupted by her marriage and pregnancy, after which she herself had to negotiate with her husband to complete her B.A. Fatima’s parents’ had to contend with

the retrogressive zeitgeist of Pakistan in the 1980s and allow her to continue her education.

None of the 3 participants had thought about working for a living because in their social milieu, men were the breadwinners. Their path to teaching careerhood was, if not exactly accidental, not well-thought out either. Tehmina was offered a job at a school while awaiting her M.A. English Literature results. A year-and-a-half later she started teaching at a tertiary language institute. She attended evening classes for a Master's in TEFL but obtained a diploma in TEFL because of her pregnancy and the absence of her husband who was studying overseas. Afshaan wanted to work once her children were of school-going age, so she started teaching, first at an NGO school and then at the school her children attended. She obtained a teaching qualification while teaching at the latter, and attended evening classes to receive an M.A. in Linguistics. Fatima was offered a teaching position at the college where she had just completed her Master's degree in English Literature. While she was teaching, she completed a Post-Graduate Diploma in Teaching English at the British Council. It is interesting to note, that in all 3 cases, at the outset of their teaching, in what would become their careers, none of the participants had any qualifications to teach.

In the following chapter, themes that emerged through my research participants' life history narratives, and the ways in which the participants see themselves as learners and teachers, will be compared and contrasted using relevant literature from the previous chapters.

Chapter 6: Discussion of Findings in Context

6.1 Introduction

This chapter has been divided into the themes that emerged from the research questions. In Part 1, the participants' family and education is explored in order to provide a backdrop for the path to their teaching. Part 2 includes the participants' journeys to becoming teachers in Pakistan and then at GCU. Other themes however, also emerged from their narrative profiles which are connected to their identities in Part 3. In order to paint a holistic picture and also show the connection between the research questions and what the participants deemed important in their narrative interviews, the common themes that emerged have also been analysed and related to the relevant literature. Part 4 will summarise issues related to the teacher-participants' professional and personal lives. The significance of these themes will be discussed in this chapter, including the key arguments related to them and how these relate to my research questions.

6.2 Part 1 Participants: Family and Education

6.2.i Family Background

All three participants, Tehmina, Afshaan and Fatima, come from well-to-do Punjabi-speaking families. Each household had domestic staff to attend to household chores. Financial and moral support from their parents was vital in enabling them to further their education. All of their mothers were housewives who had not been to college but were in favour of their daughters continuing their education. The fathers of all three participants encouraged their higher education, even Afshaan's father who came from a traditional *zamindar* family in a rural area. There is evidence in the existing literature (Bashiruddin, 2007; Farah and Shera, 2007) that in Pakistan, the support of (any) male members of the family is essential in enabling the female members of the family to study.

6.2.ii Schooling

Afshaan and Fatima's Muslim parents were not concerned about sending their daughters to Christian convent schools because in their view, these missionary schools provided the best education. These 'elite' schools, where the medium of instruction was English, were

“a carryover” from before Partition (see Rahman, 2004a). They were thought to produce anglicised children (Rahman, 1996, 1999). There were Christian teachers at these schools, including some Irish and local nuns, as well as Muslim teachers.

Afshaan’s parents wanted her to be well-educated, so she was sent to an English-medium convent school, even though they had to stand up to the opposition of the extended family in her rural area. Fatima was sent to the same convent school as her mother. It was thought to be one of the best convent schools in the country (Rahman, 2004a).

Urdu and Islamic Studies were given a greater importance in Urdu-medium schools to lay the foundations of the national language and of Islamic ideology (Rahman, 1996, 1999). This accounts for the reason that Tehmina was given a more “Pakistani education” compared to her sisters who had had a “carryover” convent education. Tehmina’s school was a top-of-the-range state school (Rahman, 2004a for discussion on tiered school system) where Urdu and English were both given importance. English was not the main medium of instruction in Tehmina’s government school.

6.2.iii Tertiary Education

The parents of all three participants did not expect them to work after finishing school. This shows the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2001) of the participants. This consists of the family background that the participants have come from, and the advantages that this may have conferred on them with regard to their ‘educational capital’ (schooling and tertiary) and thus their ability to make choices in terms of education and professional careers.

They were given opportunities that their mothers had not had, and were sent to study at the best colleges at tertiary level. Girls are not normally given this opportunity according to Patel (2003) because the families prefer to support the male members who in return will eventually become the head of the household.

6.2.iv Reflections of Participants as Learners

All three participants say in Interview 1 that they faced challenges with their learning as they were expected to memorise information and reproduce it at school and in their tertiary studies in Pakistan. Using memorisation is part of a teacher-centred approach to teaching (Halai, 2005). A teacher-centred approach may rely on following a strict lesson plan in which there is no opportunity for interactive, dialogical learning (Alexander, 2001). Freire (1970) mentions that in an authoritarian teacher-centred approach the student is filled with the teacher's narrative, and there is no opportunity for the student's input to be taken into consideration. Whilst the participant-teachers did not use memorisation as a teaching method in their own classrooms, they have all used teacher-rather than student-centred approaches to teaching. Only Afshaan reflected and moved away from her teacher-centred approach, which she mentioned in Interview 2.

The participants shared critical incidents that they faced during their formative years at school. Tehmina found school to be "nightmarish". In the lessons, there was no "interaction" or discussion, and students were supposed to sit and "absorb" what the teachers had said. She found mathematics to be especially difficult. She could not comprehend the abstract concepts and so could not even ask questions to clarify whatever she had not understood.

Like Tehmina, Fatima also had learning difficulties with mathematics, due to the subject not being explained. She stated that her lack of knowledge in mathematics, and in turn science, limited her future career choices. Fatima also disliked school. She would, "cry buckets" and did not want to go to school as the discipline of the nuns was very strict and she had to rote learn. Speaking about Islamic Studies and Arabic, Fatima mentioned that it was common knowledge amongst her peers that memorisation of the subject was an easy way to get good marks. Fatima reflected ('reflection on action', Schon, 1983) that this is "how we exploited the system" - by taking a subject which they knew would earn them high marks, rather than add to the understanding and application of their knowledge (Bloom et al., 1956).

At Afshaan's school also, rote-learning was given more emphasis than understanding the subject matter. She mentions English, Urdu and Arabic in the context of learning language where a memorisation/reproduction, grammar-based translation method for teaching languages was used (Widdowson, 1979; Richards and Nunan, 1990). She recalls that in her experience of learning Arabic (the Qur'an), her teacher encouraged rote learning and memorisation. She had difficulties in learning languages through this method.

Therefore, as learners, all three participants struggled with the teacher-centred approach to learning in school which was accompanied by a stress on rote-learning. Learning conditions at the schools attended by the participants were not conducive to learning through understanding (Entwistle and Ramsden, 1983) as no effort was made to understand the students' various stages of learning. It was most likely that the teachers were focused on covering the required curriculum in the time period given. This could have been because traditional teaching methods (i.e. rote-learning) was geared towards the exam results that teachers were assessed by (Mohammed, 2006; Dean, 2009). The teachers may have felt pressured to abide by the rules of the institution they were teaching so as to produce good exam results (Rarieya, 2009; Fullan, 2001). The teachers also may have been expected by the students, and their parents, to be just providers of knowledge for students to memorise information and reproduce it in examinations (Halai, 2001, 2009).

After having undergone many fearful and uncomfortable learning experiences at school, all three participants evolved into learners at the tertiary level (mainly during their M.A., except for Fatima where it began at the B.A. level).

They thrived in their learning environments once they were given the freedom to analyse, evaluate and critique information independently and relate it to other areas of their lives. This independence of thinking points to educational growth and creativity (Bloom et al.,

1956). It could therefore have been supposed that in turn, the participants would also have encouraged their student-learners in similar ways.

6.3 Part 2 Teaching

This section includes: Female Pakistani Teachers: path to teaching, Teaching Approaches and Cultural Context: GCU

6.3.i Female Pakistani Teachers: path to teaching

Teaching is one of the few jobs for educated women in Pakistan (Halai, 2005, 2006; Kirk, 2007). Teaching is considered to be a woman's domain and is thought to be a temporary position rather than a profession (ibid).

Both Tehmina and Fatima mention that their teachers were poorly paid. Fatima added that to earn extra money teachers would go to children's houses to give tuitions to supplement their meagre salary as teaching is an underpaid job. For better pay, Tehmina mentioned that most of the good teachers left her school to go abroad and work for Pakistani Embassy schools. She says the standard of her school went down as good teachers left. School jobs were not regarded as high-paying jobs and not as prestigious as university jobs which is why Afshaan wanted to become a university lecturer and move away from school teaching.

Teachers are influenced by their own biographies and the constraints in their lives (Halai, 2005). Therefore, reading biographies of teachers are important in that they give clues to the influences that make teachers adopt the teaching methodologies they do (Clandinin, 1985; see Connelly et al., 1997 for the influence of 'personal practical knowledge' on teaching).

The female teachers in the studies conducted showed the teachers were not trained. Their (traditional) teaching styles (focus on memorisation, exam-oriented teaching) were based on how they were taught at their own private schools. They taught the way they had been

taught because it was a method that had worked when they themselves were students. These teachers had to show high exam results to encourage new admissions (Halai, 2005; Dean, 2005).

Those who have English degrees or came from English-speaking backgrounds (through English-speaking schools), have more of an advantage to become English teachers. Although they may have no teacher training, they have the right ‘passport’ i.e. English. (Rahman, 2002, 2004a; Zafar, 2006).

Each of the female participants of this study faced her own challenges and constraints in her paths towards achieving what she has achieved by drifting into her position as an educator (Kirk, 2007) rather than having followed a well-thought out plan. They have had to make compromises and adjustments (Sharma-Brymer and Fox, 2008) in order to continue in the teaching profession.

My participants were not trained teachers when they started their teaching careers. They obtained their teaching qualifications while already teaching at tertiary institutions (Fatima and Tehmina) and at school (Afshaan). However, they were hired to teach English without any teaching qualification because they were university graduates who possessed cultural capital by virtue of belonging to upper-middle-class families and speaking English. Whilst they did not use the rote-learning method of teaching by which they had been taught, they did use a teacher-centred approach to learning. Afshaan however did change her teaching style and make it more student-centred much later on in her teaching career.

Fatima said, “no formal thought had gone into it”, and Tehmina reiterated in her interview that in becoming a teacher, there was “no formal thought process” behind it (Halai, 2005; Kirk, 2007). They were both offered teaching positions (Tehmina at a school, Fatima at her own college) while they were waiting for their final M.A. exam results (Halai, 2005 for teaching as a ‘filler’ position, often until something better comes

along). They, and Afshaan, began teaching without any teacher training; this was especially due to their knowledge of English, their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Rahman, 2002, 2004; Zafar, 2006). Their lack of teacher training supports researchers' findings about teacher training qualifications in Pakistan not being a prerequisite for teaching (Rahman, 2004; Halai, 2005).

Afshaan's path to teaching came later in life. After being "a housewife and mother [multiple layers of identity] of two children for about 7 years" (Interview 3), she wanted to work outside the home. Teaching was an attractive option for Afshaan due to her interest in teaching and also because it was convenient (Kirk, 2007; Rarieya, 2009) as she could share transport with her children, and have similar timings to them (Halai, 2005; Kirk, 2004, 2007; Rarieya, 2009). Female family members may seek employment in schools as they are expected to be caregivers. School teaching is an accepted option as schools in Pakistan are considered an extension of the home environment for women (Kirk, 2004, 2007).

6.3.ii Teaching Approaches

There are two broad approaches to teaching. A teacher-centred method of disseminating information and knowledge keeps the teacher at the centre of the stage, and the course as a whole is curriculum- and objectives-driven. The emphasis is on what the teacher knows rather than on what the students may need to know; in other words the teacher is a "sage on the stage" (Dean, 2005: 131). A student-centred approach, on the other hand, is where the needs of the students are met and the course is needs-driven.

The participants elaborated on what effective learning meant to them. For Tehmina, this was through interaction with her peers and teachers; for Afshaan, by understanding information she was studying; and for Fatima, through connections of whatever she had studied with the experiences in her own life. However, in their own classrooms, all three participants initially mentioned using what could be only be described as a teacher-

centred approach to teaching (Dean, 2006; Rarieya, 2005, 2009) where the teacher is “the repository of knowledge” (Halai, 2001: 31).

In the classroom, both Tehmina and Fatima appear to distance themselves at some level from the students and think their job as a teacher is only to meet the objectives of the lesson and prepare them for examinations (Rarieya, 2009). They seem to approach their teaching methodology in a manner that is more related to their teaching objectives, rather than taking into account the learning needs of the students. They believe that being an effective teacher is being “serious” and strict” and both consider class management (for personal practical knowledge, see Clandinin, 1985; Connelly et al., 1997) a key factor in their teaching. They both set clear boundaries and parameters and have no time for digression in class.

Fatima’s view, that teachers are “an important factor...in the development of the personality of their students”, points to her emulating her own positive experience as a learner at tertiary level when interacting with her own English literature teacher. Tehmina also sees part of the role of a teacher as being responsible for “grooming” the students. They both imply that the job of a teacher goes beyond the classroom as they are responsible for shaping the students’ personalities. Here, being a teacher does not seem to be simply restricted to the curriculum. However, neither of them explicitly discuss any sympathy or empathy they may feel for their students by relating their own learning experiences to their students’.

In Afshaan’s opinion, reading widens the worldview of a person and she compares her students’ lack of reading skills both in Pakistan and at GCU. She also sees a similarity between the limited awareness of students which prevents them from taking responsibility for planning their learning targets. She looks at the students more as learners, rather than as people from different cultural contexts who have various strengths and weaknesses.

I think she looks at her students as having multiple layers of experience, and a metaphor used to describe her could be a doctor who is diagnosing a problem that needs to be fixed.

6.3.iii Cultural Context: GCU

Both Fatima and Tehmina, on arriving at GCU, thought the level of the students was far below the level of their former students in Pakistan. It seemed that they were not teaching tertiary students, but that the maturity and the world view of the students was of 6th or 7th graders. They both tried to understand the cultural context of Arabian Gulf students. For example, one of the important contextual factors was that a lot of these students come from the isolated interior of the country and so have not had much exposure to a cosmopolitan society.

In Pakistan, Fatima employed a “collaborative” style of teaching. She thought of her teaching role as a “facilitator”. This was because her students had exposure to a wider worldview and came from educated backgrounds where speaking English would have been a norm. However, at GCU, she says she had to lower her level of teaching to match the students’ understanding. In order to propel the students in their learning, she is, in her words, a, “strict” and, “serious” teacher who does not like “frivolity”.

Although Fatima did mention the cultural differences between the two, she, as a teacher, appears to have overlooked the apparent academic differences. Her students were at very different levels: postgraduate level in Pakistan but starting undergraduate at GCU. In Pakistan, she taught English literature to Master’s students, who were very comfortable in English. At GCU however, the students were first-year university students studying English literature as second-language learners. There is a marked difference in their progressive stages of learning as the GCU students needed 4 or 5 more years of tertiary education to reach the same level as the students in Pakistan.

For a teacher to overlook, or not state this, shows a lack of in-depth analysis of students’ problems of learning. This lack of sensitivity is especially surprising as Fatima herself

struggled with a lack of support from her teachers whilst an international Master's student in the UK, as expressed in her narrative. She did not show any empathy with the learning problems (personal or educational) of her students in Pakistan or at GCU.

Tehmina emphasised the point that her training at a Military Institute in Pakistan had influenced her to continue to use the same techniques that she was introduced to, which may be interpreted as being quite rigid. As she puts it, "I am in control" and, "I make the class go where I want it to go". She does not accept "tangents" and strictly adheres to her lesson plan. However, these qualities contradict her later self-description as an "eclectic" teacher, which to my understanding means not only having a dialogical (Alexander, 2001) and flexible way of teaching but also being student-centred. She acknowledges that some students may think of her as a very "dry" teacher, but because she has 85% approval in student evaluations at GCU, she feels confident that she is on the right track with her teaching approach.

In addition, she emphasised that she is focused in the classroom and knows that she is doing what she is "supposed to" i.e. teaching in the way she was trained (Rarieya, 2009; Mohammad and Harlech-Jones, 2008). She has "clear parameters" and does not "go off the track", her classroom "never gets out of control". She says that she learned this discipline from her training at NIML. She says "students' have to keep pace with me"; she does not digress as she wants to achieve her objectives. She sets "very clear parameters", and sees that her "instructions are followed". She says that her students know that she will come down very harshly on them if her instructions are not followed. She is very sure however, that they will follow her instructions, because, with a laugh and in Urdu, she said everyone wants to maintain their self-respect.

Military-style language is used by Tehmina to describe her teaching, which may reflect her training as a teacher, at a military institution, by a retired Colonel who was her mentor and role model. She uses such terms as: "command", "control", "discipline" and

“parameter”. This shows her to be a highly-organised, and perhaps uncompromising, teacher and disciplinarian.

Afshaan appeared to be the most reflective (Schon, 1983; Dewey, 1933) about her teaching style and the one who stressed the empowerment of students’ as learners the most. Furthermore, of the three, Afshaan is the only teacher-participant who showed empathy for her students’ learning. This could be due to her own struggles with her dyslexia. She has reflected on and compared them to herself and referred to her own “learning disabilities”.

In her second interview in 2009, conducted over the telephone, she had been back in Lahore for two years after leaving GCU. Afshaan discussed her change in teaching in reference to being more “student-focused” rather than being “teacher-focused” and “curriculum-driven” (Dean, 2005; Mohammed, 2006; Mehrun-Nisa, 2009). She feels she has evolved as a teacher and become judgemental and reflective of her own teaching.

At this stage of her teaching, Afshaan describes herself as a, “lenient”, and not a “rigid” teacher anymore. Afshaan, considers herself “lenient” as a teacher because she can empathise with the students because of her own “learning disability”. She says, “my marking has always been more lenient because... because I had my own learning disability”. This made her not only think about the content, or even the product of their learning, but she tried to understand the reasons behind these.

Afshaan’s initial approach to teaching was through rote-learning in Pakistan because she started her teaching career at school. This teaching method, she says, was the norm. She herself had to rote-learn which she later on broke away from (Halai, 2005; Bloom et al., 1956). Therefore, at GCU she focussed on developing first-year EFL students’ critical thinking. Her success rate with her students in this area, in her opinion, was very low because closer to the exams, they reverted to their old habits of memorising texts that had been encouraged in their schools for 12 years.

She thinks she has become student-oriented and “not the centre of stage as before” (see “sage on the stage”, Dean, 2005: 131; Halai, 2001). She also adds that she has become “flexible” and that students need to be “empowered” and made “aware” how to improve their study skills. She encourages students to make “connections” in their learning and to make a plan – a path they need to follow to become “independent and active learners”. She wants her students to “break away from rote-learning”. It seems they need to be weaned away from something they hold sacred. Afshaan’s professional portrait here is of a teacher who cares for each student’s learning rather than just conveying information to them.

6.4 Part 3 Emerging Themes

This section includes: Code-switching: my reflection as an insider/outsider, Language and Identity, Pakistani Cultural Identity and Constraints on Participants as Females

6.4.i Language Code-switching: my reflection as an insider/outsider

According to the users and the context, each language has varying degrees of ‘linguistic capital’ (Bourdieu, 1991, 2001). Regional languages in Pakistan however, have held a place more in the home and in informal contexts (Rahman, 2004c, 2005a; Mansoor, 1993). Arabic is another significant language in Pakistan, as the country is an ‘Islamic Republic’ (Rahman, 2002, 2007) and Arabic is the language of the Qur’an.

The interview questions were in English as it was a formal situation. The participants were given the option to choose any of the languages they spoke to answer the questions. They used more English initially, but as they felt more relaxed, they switched languages (code-switching) between English, Urdu and Punjabi.

This code-switching may highlight the fact that they felt most at ease, and at home, by expressing themselves in Urdu and Punjabi and phrases of Arabic (relating to Islam). Code-switching may show an ability to switch between multiple cultural identities. Had

the interview been conducted with a monolingual English speaker, the same breadth of topics and the scope of narratives within narratives might not have unfolded (Cox, 2006; Cortazzi and Jin, 2006; Clandinin, 2007). A rapport emerged between my participants and myself and they shared stories which might not have otherwise materialised had their language choices been restricted.

The participants all used code-switching to emphasise themes they felt emotionally connected to. They each began the interviews talking about their learning experiences in English (a language used formally amongst multilingual Pakistanis). When it came to personal issues however, there was a noticeable shift in language amongst each participant. Urdu and Punjabi were used when they spoke of challenges in learning and the hurdles they faced in their educational paths. Subjects that they felt passionately about, such as views on society and societal pressures on themselves as females, were also spoken about in Urdu and Punjabi.

This perhaps showed their comfort level in the languages used, and also shows their level of comfort with me, a social acquaintance yet also an interviewer. So my role was that of an ‘insider/outsider’ who could understand their train of thought (Shah, 2004). Arabic phrases were also used throughout the interviews, especially by Afshaan. Phrases such as “Alhamdulillah”, meaning ‘thank God’ were used to show gratitude for positive outcomes of events in the past. My multilingual background as a researcher, and my awareness of Arabic/Islamic phrases due to my Muslim background, were advantageous in being able to translate and infer information from these statements.

Misunderstandings in communication can occur if only one language is used by multilingual participants. In Kirk’s study (2007), she conducted interviews with her Pakistani teacher-participants in English only. Her reasoning for this was that she did not need an interpreter for the interviews because her interviewees all taught at English-medium schools. She assumed therefore that they were fluent in English. As she was a visiting scholar, she may not have been aware of the specific type of ‘Pakistani English’

that Baumgardner et al. (1993) refer to. Keeping this in mind, I think it was an advantage for me, as a researcher, to come from a similar geographical background as my participants. Being a multilingual speaker myself, I was aware that some expressions used by the participants were ambiguous and could have been interpreted incorrectly because they had been translated directly from Urdu to English. A case in point is when I could understand what Afshaan meant when she referred to her “other family” in English. This was a literal translation from “*doosray rishteydaar*” in Urdu, meaning “other relatives”. This shows that she was perhaps thinking in Urdu while speaking English. A non-Urdu speaker may have found such a reference confusing. As an ‘insider/outsider’, I could pick up on the nuanced meanings of what could be called ‘Pakistani English’ (Baumgardner et al., 1993).

6.4.ii Language and Identity

Tehmina makes the point that knowing English carries great importance in Pakistan and it is perceived as a language with prestige connected to it (Rahman, 2004b, 2010). She discusses the importance of knowing English in Pakistan, such as her students’ motivation for learning it for instrumental reasons like educational and job prospects (Malik, 1996; Rahman, 2004a). At the same time, Tehmina thought that many people, even of the younger generation, are still under colonial influence because of their desire to learn English. She also mentions a friend, who was better at Urdu, but did a Master’s in English literature because it would make her more “marriageable” (Zubair, 2006). Marriages in Pakistan most often are arranged by families and the M.A. in English literature would have been regarded as a positive accomplishment by any prospective in-laws.

Tehmina states, “English IS the official language”, and knowing it is considered advantageous - “it gives you more confidence”. This could be because English is the official language and continues to be used in educated Pakistani society where its speakers are held in high esteem as it is used in oral and written communication in formal contexts in the government and in business. Although Urdu is the national language, it

has a secondary status to English, but is still important as the language of national ideology (Ahmed, 1999; Mansoor, 2005; Rasool and Mansoor, 2007). Bourdieu (1991) argues that the emergence of an official language is part of the process of state formation and the education system plays a very important role in the imposition of a standard language.

Fatima equates her identity as a Pakistani abroad to knowing Urdu. After moving abroad to GCU, she went back to reading Urdu literature for pleasure. It seems that while socialising with the well-to-do expatriate Pakistani community (not connected to GCU), who are mainly Urdu-speakers, she became aware of her limitations in Urdu. She says, that whilst one is in Pakistan, “you are surrounded by the language...but once you step out of Pakistan into a different culture and you feel that no, I have to make a place for myself and Urdu is my language and it is my identity”. Coming from a Punjabi-speaking background, she has become aware of the currency that Urdu holds for her to be accepted amongst sophisticated Urdu speakers. Although she is able to speak and read Urdu, Fatima cannot write Urdu well, and wonders whether this is due to complex Urdu grammar, the style of teaching or the focus of convent education being on English and not on Urdu (Rahman, 2005a, 2005b).

6.4.iii Pakistani Cultural Identity

Tehmina has a strong sense of Pakistani identity, which she described at great length, speaking in Urdu. Speaking in English, she said her “bonding was very strong” with Pakistan. She calls herself, “a flexible” Muslim woman. This she explains first in English, followed by Urdu and Punjabi. She does not like to preach to anyone but firmly believes in her religion, although she does not pray five times a day (as devout Muslims do). Though fluent in English, Tehmina spoke a lot of Urdu and some Punjabi during the interview. Although Tehmina did not attend an English-medium school, she is the only participant to explicitly initiate the topic of the importance of the English language in Pakistan and of how it is connected to the educational system in Pakistan and to Pakistani identity.

Fatima was able to see parallels between her own life and society and the societal restrictions on Maggie Tulliver in George Elliot's *Mill on the Floss*, first published in Britain in 1860. Fatima could connect with Maggie's rejection and need for acceptance by her family and society. She could see the connection in the determinism of the societal pressure, 124 years later, during the time when more restrictions had been placed on women in Zia-ul-Haq's Pakistan. Literature continues to play an important role in Fatima's life. Ever since Fatima joined GCU in 1999, she has been teaching Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, first published in 1879, to Arab coeducational first year students. This shows that critiquing people's ways of lives and cultures for her is a source of knowledge she can learn from and most probably she expects this of her students. It seems she looks at herself as a role model and expects to be emulated too.

Fatima, in Interview 3, expressed her strong affiliation to Pakistan. A place she does not – speaking in Urdu here – feel afraid in as she does in other foreign countries in the West and even in the Arabian Gulf because of the rules. She feels freer in Pakistan than in any other country. Fatima mainly spoke in English during the interviews until it came to social issues regarding women in Pakistan and then she spoke in Urdu. In the third interview she used a bit of Punjabi to crack jokes which shows her sense of ease.

Afshaan is very proud of the achievements of Pakistani girls of the 1990s who are in professional fields. Afshaan hardly used any Urdu or Punjabi during the first interview except for a lot of Arabic words and thanked God for her blessings throughout the interview which appears to demonstrate her faith in Islam. For Afshaan, “sometimes out of the blue, God sends you a message and it truly changes your life”. As a Muslim, she seems to believe in a connection between God and destiny and it appears that her convent school culture has not affected her religious beliefs.

6.4.iv Constraints on Participants as Females

Being female, the participants have all had to struggle against various societal constraints in order to study and pursue professional careers. Afshaan had to persevere to complete her first degree after marriage, teach at school, obtain two M.A.s (one from abroad), and eventually become a tertiary educator, whilst being a housewife and a mother. Despite all this, her own education and career was secondary to her husband's. She considers women in Pakistan to be "lone warriors" standing up against societal pressures.

At college, Tehmina would have preferred to have studied Political Science, but could not at the behest of her father. She became a teacher, and she and her husband were both EFL teachers when they married. Whilst teaching, she became a young mother of two and had to sacrifice completing her second M.A. in Pakistan due to her husband's educational advancement abroad.

After finishing school, Fatima undertook tertiary education in Pakistan whereas she would have preferred to have been given the opportunity to study abroad like her older brother had. Soon after school, at the age of 16/17, she faced pressures from social acquaintances who would insist to her parents: "*shadi karrado*" (in Urdu. "Get her married").

She passionately spoke about the effect of President Zia-ul-Haq's Presidency from 1977-1989 which further put constraints on women and especially on girls of her own age who were "in their formative years". He was in power before she started college and still there while she was in college. She says that "even when he was blown to bits" (in a plane crash), "it was difficult to come out of the shroud that he had cast on us". She says that as a girl, she did not have the same freedom as her older brother did (boys are given more facilities than girls, see Patel, 2003); she became an independent thinker once she left Pakistan and went to Nottingham to do her Master's.

6.5 Part 4 Emerging questions

This section summarises questions that have emerged through the analysis of the data. These themes are connected to the teacher-participants' professional narratives. In the process of their narratives, overlapping personal stories also emerged which are summarised below.

The questions/themes that follow are:

- 6.5.i. Was it a conscious decision to enter teaching?
- 6.5. ii. Do they use a teacher-centred or student-centred approach?
- 6.5.iii What metaphors do they use/how do they describe themselves as teachers?
- 6.5.iv What does code-switching tell us about their identities?
- 6.5.v Why did they leave teaching in Pakistan to teach abroad?

6.5.i Was it a deliberate decision to enter teaching?

The data from the narrative interviews revealed that they stumbled upon their present professional careers. It was not a deliberate, well-thought-out decision for any of the participants to work, become teachers, or become EFL teachers. Becoming EFL teachers was due to their personal circumstances and after that leaving Pakistan was their own choice. For their first teaching jobs (and for quite a few years after this), none of them were trained as teachers or as language teachers. After becoming trained as teachers, they all used teacher-centred approaches (Dean, 2006; Rarieya, 2005, 2009; Halai, 2001; Freire, 1970). Only one out of the three, Afshaan, appears to have reflected on her teaching methodology (Schon, 1983).

6.5.ii Do the participants use a teacher-centred or student-centred approach?

The common theme in their biographies (personal narratives) is the emphasis on the fact that they only became independent learners and thinkers once they found teachers who encouraged discussions and class interaction. They benefited from student-centred dialogical approaches to learning (Alexander, 2001). Despite this, it is not apparent in their interviews that they use this same approach when teaching their own students.

Afshaan however has become more aware of students' learning difficulties and their study habits and study skills.

As Halai (2005) discovered in her longitudinal study with her participant-teachers' biographies, the way they learned was important in influencing their teaching style. Especially if they were untrained, they may have adopted a method of teaching which was modelled on the way their teachers taught them (Halai, 2005; Clandinin, 1985; Connelly et al., 1997, for the influence of 'personal practical knowledge' on teaching).

In the First Interview, all three participants indicate that they used a teacher-centred approach to teaching. They do not diverge from their lesson plan that they have made. This would restrict any interaction from taking place, or allow for a relaxed atmosphere for dialogical learning (Alexander, 2001).

Fatima has given conscious thought to the cultural variance between Pakistani students and those at GCU. She does adapt her teaching style according to this. However, Afshaan appears to have reflected the most on her teaching throughout the interviews. Her shift towards a more student-centred approach was expressed in the Second Interview (when in Pakistan after leaving GCU). She is following the individual learning stages of her students (Bloom et al., 1956). For Tehmina however, her teaching style appears to have been unaltered throughout the interview process.

6.5.iii What metaphors do they use/how do they describe themselves as teachers?

When asked what metaphors they would use to describe themselves as teachers, Fatima and Tehmina described themselves with the adjectives "serious" and "strict". They both set strict ground rules for their students and expect these to be followed. They are sure that they achieve good results from the method they are using in class. However, Afshaan describes herself as no longer "rigid", and now a "lenient" teacher. She focuses on the students' study skills and prioritises this over following the syllabus.

6.5.iv What does language code-switching tell us about their identities?

The other themes that emerged from the narratives of the participants (where they gave their personal views about their education and issues connected to it) give us a glimpse of their experiences outside the classroom. Although they are teachers of English, they are comfortable and express themselves in several languages. The themes they felt most strongly and emotionally connected to (such as any challenges they faced growing up in Pakistan as females) they spoke about in a language other than English (Urdu or Punjabi). I, as another Pakistani Muslim female, and conversant in multiple languages, was an ‘insider/outsider’ (Shah, 2004) with whom they could share their personal and professional stories within stories (Cox, 2006; Cortazzi and Jin, 2006; Clandinin, 2007).

Two out of the three participants discussed the importance of language in a multilingual country such as Pakistan. Tehmina brought up the significance of the English language for professional and personal mobility in Pakistan. Fatima talked about the importance of Urdu for her personal development abroad.

6.5.v Why did they leave teaching in Pakistan to teach abroad?

All of the participants’ first teaching experience abroad was at GCU. Tehmina left Pakistan to teach at GCU where her husband was already teaching. It seems that Afshaan had “invested in Pakistan” a lot but there was a time she was disillusioned with the politics after which she left Pakistan to teach abroad. Fatima left Pakistan for GCU because she “wanted to be independent” and “experience a different culture”. She thought at that point the world was her “oyster”, and that leaving Pakistan would be “a stepping stone” for greater things for her.

Although they have left Pakistan and despite the challenges they faced in Pakistan, it appears that their Pakistani cultural identity is very strong. They state that they feel very connected to Pakistan, and feel strongly about their country, but they continue to work outside Pakistan. It does not appear that they plan to permanently settle in Pakistan.

Tehmina and Fatima have Canadian papers and Afshaan also has plans to settle in the UK or Canada.

Summary of Chapter 6

The three participants of the study belong to affluent families. Two of them were sent to English-medium convent schools and the third to a top-of-the range state school. They were all sent to the best colleges after finishing school. Throughout their education, they encountered an authoritarian teacher-centred approach in which they were expected to memorise and reproduce set texts.

In their interviews, the participants admitted that their path to adopting teaching as a career was contingent on their specific circumstances, as they had never thought about teaching. Therefore, they had no formal teaching qualifications when they first started teaching, but obtained these while already teaching. Although all three participants did not like the teacher-centred approach when they were students, two of them continue to use the same approach as teachers.

Code-switching between the 3 languages spoken by the participants was one of the themes that emerged from their interviews. This perhaps reflects an ability to switch between multiple cultural identities. When expressing themselves on personal issues such as their views on Pakistani society and on constraints on them as females, they used Urdu and Punjabi, whereas when they discussed intellectual matters, they used English. As an insider/outsider, knowing the three languages the participants spoke, as well as belonging to the same religion, enabled me to clarify ambiguities and to understand any inferences. Their cultural identity as Pakistanis was strong and tied to religion and to the national language Urdu, although knowing English in Pakistan was recognized as advantageous in all public dealings as it is the official language.

The 3 female participants felt constraints on their lives when comparing themselves to males. Societal conventions in Pakistan prioritized the main responsibilities of the 2

married participants as housewives and mothers which was deemed secondary to their husbands' careers.

In the concluding Chapter, the main research findings will be summarised and discussed with the related literature. This will be followed by the limitations, significance and implications of the research. In the end, some suggestions for further research will be explored, followed by some concluding remarks.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss my research findings which are accompanied by tables that show the significant points of my study (7.2). The salient features of these findings will then be discussed with the relevant literature (7.3). This will be followed by the limitations, significance and implications of the research in 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6 respectively. Ideas for further research will be suggested in 7.7 and concluding remarks given in 7.8.

7.2 Research Findings

Information about the participants and my research findings are summarised in the tables below and a short discussion of the salient points accompany each table.

7.2.i Tertiary Education and Turning Points

Table I	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
Learning at College	Had to memorise Islamic Studies texts and reproduce them so it was an easy subject to get good grades in.	Had to memorise Persian which was an elective subject. She was not a rote-learner so dropped the course.	Did not do well in College as wasn't able to cram. Had learning difficulties with memorisation, which she many years later put down to her dyslexia.
Educational turning point	Pakistani Christian teacher inspired her by relating literature to life.	Friend suggested teaching the summer after she finished her M.A.	A politician's wife teaching in a College encouraged her to complete her B.A. degree.
Second Masters' degree from UK (years)	Found herself " <i>completely at sea</i> " and felt " <i>apprehensive</i> " as there was " <i>no guidance</i> " (1999).	Did not study outside Pakistan.	" <i>Not conditioned</i> " to provide her own input. She struggled with having to " <i>produce</i> " on her own, rather than being expected to " <i>reproduce</i> " (2000).

Table I above summarises the participants' college learning experience and the turning points in their lives that led them to teach. Table I continues on the following page.

Table I (contd.)	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
Educational turning point	Pakistani Christian teacher inspired her by relating literature to life.	Friend suggested teaching the summer after she finished her M.A.	A politician's wife teaching in a College encouraged her to complete her B.A. degree.
Second Masters' degree from UK (years)	Found herself " <i>completely at sea</i> " and felt " <i>apprehensive</i> " as there was " <i>no guidance</i> " (1999).	Did not study outside Pakistan.	" <i>Not conditioned</i> " to provide her own input. She struggled with having to " <i>produce</i> " on her own, rather than being expected to " <i>reproduce</i> " (2000).

All of my participants did not enjoy the way teachers taught them when they were students, especially when their authoritarian teachers tried to enforce a rigid learning mode. It appears that their school teachers were negative role models. Due to these experiences, perhaps my participants would not have become teachers had they not experienced a critical turning point.

For all three, there were turning points during their educational experiences at university which influenced them to become English teachers. From this, it appears that an encounter with a role model, or an encouraging older figure, was a crucial feature in determining their choice of profession. However, this was only possible because they already possessed the (necessary) cultural and linguistic capital to enter the teaching profession.

7.2.ii Path to Teaching

Table II	Path to Teaching		
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
Interest in teaching	<i>"I had not thought about it. As soon as I graduated was offered the post. I thought it was a great honour then it became my career".</i>	<i>"No formal thought process. It was accidental".</i> <i>"My results had not even been announced". (said in Urdu).</i>	<i>"After being a housewife and mother of two Teaching was first option for two reasons, firstly, being interested in teaching; and secondly...it meant going to work at the same venue as my children".</i>

From Table II above it is evident that it was almost accidental that they went into teaching, as mentioned earlier. Both Fatima and Tehmina had not thought about teaching. They both belonged to affluent families and so had no financial concerns. Afshaan, however, does mention here that she was interested in teaching, but had also mentioned in her first interview that she had (initially) wanted to become a lawyer. Once that plan did not work out, she became a teacher in her children's school. This choice (Dean, 2005; Kirk, 2004, 2007) shows that educated females may teach just because it is a convenient option. Moreover, the main bread winner in Afshaan's house was her solicitor husband.

All three had no financial concerns that influenced their decisions. They had the cultural capital and linguistic capital, through their command of English, to pass the formal or informal selection procedures

7.2.iii How the Participants Describe Themselves as Teachers

Table III How Participants Describe Themselves as Teachers			
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
How they see themselves as teachers	<p>A “<i>serious, strict teacher</i>”, a “<i>facilitator</i>”.</p> <p>Does not like “<i>frivolity</i>”.</p> <p>Sets “<i>ground rules</i>” and expects students to adhere to them.</p>	<p>Likes to have control in the classroom, and she takes the class where she wants it to go.</p> <p>Organised, control in class, strict, dry, sets parameters. Also eclectic.</p>	<p>Student-oriented but the teaching was all about her.</p> <p>“<i>I’m no longer at the centre of the stage. Now my teaching is student-focused</i>”, and not curriculum- driven.</p> <p>Developing not only study skills but thinking skills.</p> <p>“<i>Lenient</i>” and “<i>not as rigid</i>” as she used to be.</p>
Attitude towards teaching in Pakistan	Collaborative. Students mature attitude towards learning and understanding – more exposed to ideas.	Students fee-paying so maybe made a difference to their motivation; mature attitude towards learning.	Very varied educational system – students expect to be spoon-fed. Need guidance towards planning their studies –more study skills needed
Attitude towards teaching at GCU	Increased cultural awareness of Middle-Eastern students.	No “ <i>ha-ha, hoho</i> ” in class or childish language learning games- treats them “ <i>as university students should be treated</i> ”.	“ <i>Student focussed</i> ”.
			Training students to be independent learners and thinkers. However, they revert to their old school habit of rote-learning and reproducing when preparing for exams.

In Table III above, the participants see themselves as “serious”, “strict”, “controlling”, and “centre of the stage” teachers. However, Fatima and Afshaan change their teaching styles according to the needs of the students. Mainly, all three of their teaching is more teacher-focused. This shows a traditional approach to teaching rather than a student-focused approach, where the focus is in on the practical approach to learning according to students’ needs.

7.2.iv Snapshot of Participants

Table IV	Snapshot of Participants		
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
Born	1964	1960	1960
Started teaching in Pakistan - no formal qualifications	1989	1983	1988
Formal teaching qualifications	1996	1995	1995
Date joined GCU	Ist Feb 1999	Sep 1996	Oct 2004
Age at first teaching experience abroad	35	36	44
First interview date	13 June, 2006	10 June, 2006	30 Jan, 2007
Years of Teaching experience in GCU at time of First interview	7	10	3
Pakistan and GCU combined experience at First interview	15 ½	20	18
Second interview date	24 May, 2009	23 Nov, 2009	19 May, 2009
Third interview date	23 May, 2011	23 May, 2011	Email, 16 June, 2011

Table IV gives a snapshot of the participants' careers from their first job in Pakistan to their first (and only) job abroad. At the time of the First Interview (mid 2006/Jan 2007) all three of them had between 15 ½ to 20 years of teaching experience. By the Third Interview (2011) they had between 20-25 years of teaching experience. Although they had more teaching experience by then, they did not show much change in their teaching styles. Between their First Interviews and Third Interviews, a period of 5 years, all the participants continued to demonstrate the same ideas about teaching that they had earlier. They did not however, replicate the teaching styles of their school teachers, of

encouraging memorisation of information or rote-learning and definitely “did not put fire under them” to motivate them as Fatima mentions in her First interview. At the same time however, none of the participants mention any attempt to develop critical thinking in their students by using dialogical or student-focused learning. Afshaan mentions study-skills which may indirectly imply independent learning, but not critical thinking.

7.3 Findings and Discussion of Literature

My role in the 3 sets of multilingual interviews I conducted with each of my 3 participants was that of an insider/outsider (Shah, 2004). I was an insider through the contexts of various commonalities that we shared – those of languages, of culture, of gender, of religion, of expatriate environment and not least, of our profession. In the discussion below, I will present my findings regarding my participants’ views on all these commonalities and compare and contrast them with respect to how they have been discussed in the previous literature, thus hoping to shed light on the theoretical (the utilisation of Bourdieu and Harré’s theories of society and personhood), practical (issues arising from my empirical findings regarding teaching) and methodological (my choice of narrative inquiry) implications of my study.

7.3.i Cultural Capital Expressed as Linguistic Capital in the Pakistani Context

This study has utilised Bourdieu’s (1991) conceptions of capital to apply to the identity formation of my participants’ privileged positions in society – such as having financial support from their families (economic capital) to enable them to utilise cultural capital, their embodied capital, which has been shown to take the form of linguistic capital in Pakistan because of the context of English being privileged in Pakistani society as the official language.

Due to the varied educational system in Pakistan, with ‘first-rate’ English-medium schools considered the top of the hierarchy as one participant of my study, Afshaan, comments on (Afshaan, Interview 1), such schools not only produce a rift in educational outcomes due to the linguistic differences, but also affect socio-cultural ones. These

findings support Bourdieu's (1991) and Rahman's (1996) observation that the utilisation of official and national languages is an important part of state formation, and that it is the responsibility of the the state education system to implement its use in society.

Students attending these private or missionary English-medium schools have been considered by Rahman (2004a) as part of the societal 'elite'. The existence of these schools has been considered in the literature as detrimental to the knowledge of cultural traditions in Pakistan (Rahman, 2004b). Mansoor (2004) supports this point, claiming that English-medium students are like foreigners in their own country, imbibing western culture and values rather than being exposed to a culture based on Islamic values, which arguably was the *raison d'être* of the creation of Pakistan. My participants' narratives support this claim of a rift between how Urdu-medium and English-medium schools students are perceived (Interview 1).

Language, and its relationship to culture (Sapir, 1971; Mauri, 1975a), is significant in a multi-lingual and ex-colonial nation such as Pakistan, as has been highlighted in the literature (Mansoor, 2004, 2005) as well as by my participants (Interview, 1 and 2). My participants (like myself as the 'insider-outsider' researcher) are all multi-lingual, having a command of English (the official language of Pakistan), Urdu (the national language), and Punjabi (a regional language). Arabic may also be added as another language used by us, although it is used only functionally for religious purposes. Through their narratives of their experiences as learners and teachers, which was enmeshed in the biographical stories that they chose to share, my participants hierarchically categorised their three most utilised languages, both implicitly and explicitly (Afshaan, Fatima, Tehmina, Interview 1 and 2).

English was considered the most valuable language in society, Urdu came second and regional languages (in their case, Punjabi) last (Afshaan, Fatima, Tehmina, Interviews 1 and 2). Despite this hierarchy being used by my participants, it was clear from their interviews, that they had uses for all of the languages they were comfortable with, and

that their use was contingent on circumstances. In this way, all languages hold equal importance due to their functionality.

During the interviews, 2 of my participants switched between using English to Urdu and to Punjabi. Although spoken with other multi-lingual Pakistanis, English when used with other Urdu speakers, is normally considered a formal language, used to discuss technical or academic topics, rather than emotive ones (Rahman, 2004a, and my experience of my participants in all 3 sets of interviews). Urdu was used during the interviews in an informal way, for expression of emotions, showing perhaps an ease with my role as the researcher (which indicates my insider/outsider status, Shah, 2004; Abu-Lughod, 1993). Punjabi, used in an even more informal and emotive way, was used by both Tehmina and Fatima whilst relating their emotional pressures in the Pakistani context of gender issues and the injustices they had faced as females in Pakistan. Through the discourse used in my empirical study, a link between language and thought can be inferred (Phillipson, 1992; Sapir, 1971). Afshaan however, used language differently. She stuck mainly to English and used the most Arabic for religious expressions. It can be deduced that she remained the most formal throughout the interviews.

Whilst regional languages are marginalised within Pakistani society (Ali, 1993; Sullivan, 2007), due to the official and national languages taking institutional precedence (in bureaucracy and educational institutions), they are still utilised in day-to-day speech throughout the different regions in Pakistan. Despite their widespread use, the utilisation of regional languages in some sectors of society may accompany social stigma, as seen in Tehmina's first interview when she shares that she and her siblings would laugh at her mother, whose main language of communication was Punjabi, for not being able to speak English and barely being able to speak Urdu (Tehmina, Interview 1, 2006). Sullivan (2007) and Mansoor's study (1993) addresses this issue, asserting that, although Punjabi speakers may be embarrassed by using the language as it is associated with a lack of education and sophistication, Punjabi is not a language in danger of dying out, due to its common use.

Language plays a critical role as a means of communication and as an expression of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1990). This can be seen in Pakistan historically with English being the language of the British Raj, which was also mentioned by Tehmina (Tehmina, Interview 1). Tehmina, the only participant not to have been educated in an English-medium school, was also the only participant to explicitly speak of the high status given to those with knowledge of English within society. Tehmina mentions that people may be interested in learning English for social mobility, to attract a higher status of marriage proposals, or to marry someone who has settled abroad (Tehmina, Interview 1).

Whilst Bourdieu's theory of capital was applied to his observations of French society, it is a useful concept, if not treated as deterministic. It can be universally applicable only if it incorporates the possibility of fluidity and change. The theory then can more accurately account for the individual as well as the societal elements that Bourdieu determines in his theories of capital (Bourdieu, 2001). It is for this reason that my theoretical framework has included a discussion on Harré's multi-faceted view of personhood which considers an individual's identity as active and interactional, rather than being a passive member of a deterministic society.

Tehmina's path to tertiary teaching is a good example of an individual who was not educated with what may be regarded as the 'highest' level of educational or linguistic capital in Pakistan as she did not attend an 'elite' (Rahman, 2004a) English-medium school, but instead went to a top-of-the range Urdu-medium school (Tehmina, Interview 1). Tehmina did come from an affluent family however, and through her determination ended up following a career path of an English language teacher which has high prestige in Pakistan (Malik, 1996; Mansoor, 2002; Sullivan, 2007). Thus, her educational and linguistic background did not hinder her future career path.

Linguistic capital can be considered to be contingent on context and cultural-linguistic norms and habitus (Bourdieu, 2001). This can be seen in Arnot and Naveed's (2014)

study who found that, in comparison to one of the regional languages, Punjabi, the national language Urdu was considered to be a language of culture and sophistication. So in this area of rural Punjab, linguistic capital meant functional knowledge of Urdu. Females were sent to be educated so that they could learn to speak Urdu, in order to exhibit their education and sophistication (Arnott and Naveed, 2014). This acquisition of linguistic, and in turn cultural, capital could later on improve their marriage prospects and status within that society.

Although each of my participants explicitly ranked English as having the highest status within Pakistani society, followed by Urdu and then regional languages (ref), linguistic capital as seen in Arnott and Naveed's study (2014) can be viewed as dependent on cultural environment and location.

Linguistic capital that privileges Urdu can, unexpectedly, also be seen in my narrative study. Fatima explicitly connects her identity as a Pakistani abroad to Urdu, which she remarks became apparent to her living outside of Pakistan (Fatima, Interview 1). Socialising within an affluent expatriate Pakistani community, it could be this context that inspired her to revisit Urdu literature and language, having spent her formative years in English-medium educational institutions (Fatima, Interview 1) which gave minimal importance to Urdu. Applying Harré's theorisation of personhood to Fatima's situation, it could be inferred that Fatima's perception of self (Self 1) could have undergone a shift during her time as an expatriate outside of Pakistan, through reflection (Self 2), and in the context of interacting (Self 3) with a sophisticated expatriate Urdu-speaking community.

7.3.ii Identity Formation and Gender

My participants' narratives implicitly and explicitly highlighted the significance of gender issues in their personal and professional life trajectories (Fatima, Tehmina, Afshaan, Interview 1). My participants' stories in that respect mirrored Kirk's study (2007) about the personal lives of the teachers in Pakistan. Kirk found gender issues to be crucial in education for Pakistani female teachers with regards to their struggles to study

due to familial and societal expectations, to select a subject of their own choice, or even to select a career. The struggles of Kirk's participants were further compounded, however, due to their socio-economic backgrounds. The participants of Kirk's study (ibid) had to work to earn a living, whereas my participants came from affluent backgrounds and as such a career was not as urgent (Afshaan, Fatima, Tehmina, Interview 3).

My participants' reflective selves, Harré's notion of Self 2 (Harré, 1983) were accessed during the narrative study, and it is during this reflective process that issues of gender were brought to the fore. One issue that was recalled were the obstacles to achieving their academic goals. For instance, when Afshaan was just months away from her final B.A. exams, she was 'married off' and the marriage was not of her choosing. She was determined to complete her studies and sat her exams whilst pregnant (Afshaan, Interview 1). Tehmina also faced the challenges of being married, going through pregnancy, of childbirth, of having to fit in studying and sitting examinations while taking care of her children. They both had to adjust their choices for their career paths accordingly (Afshaan and Tehmina, Interview 1) in order to fit into the roles expected of them as wives and mothers. Their roles are linked to Harré's conception of Self 3, or to the self which interacts and responds to other's perceptions of one within society.

This shifting identity of my participants may be seen as resulting from "clusters of rights, duties and obligations" (Harré and Slocum, (2003: 128). Individuals fall within predetermined roles due to their gender, 'race' and disability (Harré, 2015). While talking about their travelling experiences in Canada, the United Kingdom and Oman, my participants averred that there were occasions when they felt uncomfortable because of their gender and their 'race' (Fatima and Afshaan Interview 3). I would add 'disability' to the list for Afshaan, as she had to give precedence to her role as a woman over that of a person interested in studying which therefore disadvantaged or 'disabled' her (Afshaan, Interview 1) and for Fatima, who had to fight against great familial and social pressure to get her married after she finished school (Fatima, Interview 1), and for Tehmina, as she

was unable to pursue her studies in her chosen subject (Tehmina, Interview 1). Two more examples show their perceptions of the ways in which they are treated as females by society. When in Pakistan, before moving abroad to GCU, the perception about women going to work (or study) abroad in Afshaan's social milieu was that there were problems in her marriage, whereas traveling abroad in the case of men was seen as a norm (Afshaan, Interview 1). Fatima's older brother was sent abroad to study after finishing school, whereas she had to wait for a partial scholarship while she was teaching (Fatima, Interview 1 and 2).

It is likely that gender as a structural characteristic in Pakistani society has influenced my participants' identity formation, which, in turn, is reflected in their professional identity. When talking about their students, they talk much more about the concerns of their female students (Afshaan, Fatima, Tehmina, Interviews 1 and 2).

7.3.iii Teacher Identity

A significant theme common to the literature on Pakistani schools and teachers is that a number of teachers, especially those coming from 'elite' schools, begin classroom teaching as untrained teachers (Rahman, 2004a). Their command of English (linguistic capital) is seen as advantageous, as is their place in Pakistani society due to their family background, or cultural capital. These English-speaking teachers may be considered good "...role-models for their pupils" (Rahman, 2004: 69).

All three participants (and myself) had no teacher training before starting teaching. Although we had no formal knowledge of teaching, our practical knowledge may have emerged in classroom situations (Connelly et al., 1997; Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Alsup, 2006). Although Afshaan, Fatima and Tehmina (as well as myself) are now all trained teachers, it appears, from the way they describe their teaching (Interviews 1 and 2) in a teacher-centred way, that their knowledge in practice (practical knowledge that teachers accumulate) may take precedence in the classroom situation over their formal knowledge of teaching.

Although it is likely that teachers' critical experiences as learners are taken into the classroom because our experiences (Harré's self 2, "the reflective self" in Harré, 1983) form our identity in interaction (Harré's "self 3", *ibid*), it appears that this was overlooked by my participants. It appears from the ways in which they described themselves as teachers that they had forgotten their own worries, fears and dislikes when they were learners, which seemed to stem from teachers only utilising traditional and strict teaching methods (Afshaan, Fatima, Tehmina, Interview 1). Afshaan described herself as taking front stage (Afshaan, Interview 2), Fatima did not want "frivolity" in her class, yet says her teachers had strict rules in class (Fatima, Interview 1) and Tehmina conducted a very "controlled" class, yet she herself needed to be engaged with her teacher (Tehmina, Interview 1). It is ironic that these are the teaching styles they appear to have adopted when each one of them described their disdain for this approach from their own teachers (Afshaan, Fatima, Tehmina, Interview 1).

This accords with the findings of Fenstermacher (1997) that it could be that the formal knowledge (i.e. teacher training) that my participants had acquired, later on became more teacher-centred than learner-centred, and therefore the three participants have continued to teach in this way.

Since teachers are the key actors in the processes of educational development and quality improvement, the debate amongst educationists has been whether *formal knowledge*, of teaching qualifications (Fenstermacher, 1994, 1997), is of equal importance to teachers' *knowledge in practice* (practical knowledge), the knowledge that comes into play when in a classroom situation (Connelly et al., 1997; Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Alsup, 2006; Clemente and Ramirez, 2008).

Clandinin (1985) describes personal practical knowledge as "an emotional and moral knowledge. [This] actively carries our being into interaction with classroom events" (Clandinin, 1985:382). This form of knowledge is also "connected with the personal and

professional narratives of our lives... [and]...is not independent and objective standing apart from our personal histories” (Clandinin, 1985:383). Thus, the knowledge the teachers have is displayed in a practical fashion in their classrooms and “entwined with (their) identity” (Clandinin et al., 2009: 141). When teachers prioritise content knowledge, they reveal their authoritative and traditional approach to teaching, whereas teaching communicatively entails teaching through discussion and interactive learning (Nunan, 1989; Richards and Rogers, 2001). Teaching content without a focus on discussion or interaction is a teacher-centred approach as mentioned by Halai (2009). Teachers’ stories enter the classroom with them, and colours their vision and mode of transmitting knowledge (Clandinin et al., 2009: 141).

This was illustrated by my participants that they created their own personal practical knowledge of teaching which was teacher-centred.

7.3.iv Reflections on Methodology

My choice of utilising the narrative approach has been beneficial to uncovering my participants’ personal and professional life trajectories. By asking my participants open-ended questions of how they would describe themselves as learners and as teachers, and allowing for ‘meandering’ responses, a much richer narrative story emerged which uncovered unexpected issues of language and identity and gender issues and personal struggles.

By asking open-ended questions, life stories emerged rather than simple responses to their lives as educated and educators, which highlight Clandinin and Connelly’s notion of the connections between personal and practical knowledge (1999).

The narrative stories of my participants as learners and tertiary teachers may be added to the literature on Pakistanis, Pakistani women, Pakistani women as tertiary educators, expatriate Pakistani educators and Pakistani EFL teachers in the academic field. That their (undersung!) voices will be added to this literature is due to their participation in

this study which is because I, as in Abu-Lughod's research experience (1993), am an insider-outsider, known to the participants (ibid).

Finding participants for an in-depth study is not a straightforward process, and there needs to be an awareness of cultural contexts and backgrounds, and as Muchmore (2002) has asserted, every study is unique and ethical issues should be approached with that in mind. Due to suspicion of the motives of research or distrust of authoritarian figures, some participants may not wish to take part without an incentive as Arnott and Naveed (2014) found in their study in rural Pakistan. In their case, the researchers helped the villagers - one example given was that they helped the local schools by providing resources.

I did not have such difficulties in this study as the participants were known to me; however, I was aware of the potential for complications due to my previous research experiences in Christchurch, New Zealand with Arab students and Pakistani women in 1999. My initial approach had been to send potential participants a letter informing them of my research and inviting them to take part (which may be considered the standard research process). That approach did not work. Instead, I had to approach them through personal contacts even then, the Pakistani women who were very few in number in Christchurch at that time, turned me down very politely saying that they had some emergency in the family, or they had to deal with health issues. Due to our mutual cultural background, I could infer that they did not know me well enough to share their stories with me, that the formal ethics letter had intimidated them, and that they did not have any motivation to participate in the study. On the other hand, after some initial reservations, I did manage to interview some Arab students who volunteered for the study as they felt they were contributing to a good cause by helping build a support system for international students.

Support appeared to be a motivation too for Saleema, who sought me out and was interviewed for the pilot study for this narrative research on Pakistani expatriate women

teachers. It appears that she perhaps needed someone to share her thoughts and feelings with, especially regarding her troubled marriage. She used her confidential interview with me to seek support for her personal troubles.

The participants of my present study chose to participate in my research for no apparent academic or extrinsic motivation, other than being willing to personally support my research. It seemed that due to our personal and professional acquaintance, they trusted me implicitly and due to their great sense of national pride, they did not believe that Pakistani women were under-represented in the academic international arena! So it was unlikely they were participating in the research to fill a gap in academic literature.

I was aware then, approaching my participants in this study that these sort of formal and business-like transactions may be off-putting, and not conducive to narrative research as Muchmore (2002) asserts. Narrative research involves forming relations underpinned by mutual trust and respect. These relations are far more complex than any formal ethical procedure enables, so my participants were quite willing to give me their verbal consent. However, following Bath University regulations, they were also provided with an Ethics form to complete.

7.4 Limitations of the Research

Since this is a small-scale qualitative study, the findings are tentative and further research is needed to determine if they hold true for other EFL teachers from a comparable background. It can be said that by teasing out potential explanations here, I am constructing grounded or emergent theory, derived inductively from a review of the data. There are no wide-ranging conclusions to be garnered from this study as it has a small participant-base. However, the intention of this study was not to prove or disprove a singular hypothesis, but instead to understand the factors that influence who we have become as educators.

Narrative research may be deemed ‘unreliable,’ as listening to the participants’ stories is listening to their versions of events, and relies on memories which may well be fabrications to impress the interviewer (Bruner, 1990). Furthermore, memories, by definition, are a fusion of time - past experiences are recalled in the present moment. However, this study does not seek verifiable facts, but instead relies on the participants’ narratives to be what the participants say that they are. Through the longitudinal approach (three interviews over 5 years), any consistencies and inconsistencies in story-telling have become apparent. What has been sought is how the participants see themselves as teachers. As this is a subjective endeavour in and of itself, verifiable facts of participants’ narratives become less important than listening to the participants expressing themselves regarding multiple facets of their personal and professional teaching lives. These facets, observed by me as the researcher, are reflected and refracted, as in a crystal, by the illumination I provide through my interpretation of their voiced experiences.

Through the wide-ranging engagement with literature on teachers’ lives, and the in-depth interviews with the participants of this research, a “crystallisation” (Janesick, 2003) emerges that indicates its uniqueness as it has been shaped by diverse and various forces so it is one of its kind.

7.5 Significance of the Research

The purpose of voicing the narratives of these teachers was to add to the professional development of my participants (as well as myself) and concurrently this may add to the wider literature on the professional development of teachers (Clandinin and Connelly, 2007; Bertau and Johanson, 2002; Cross, 2006; Cox, 2006; Goncalves, 2007; Clemente and Ramirez, 2008).

As multiple/joint participants of this study, my participants and I have initiated a personal internal dialogue, and/or even a multi-voiced dialogue (Bakhtin, 1981). This multi-voiced dialogue could be the collective voice of the cultural and social group - my three participants and myself - which is expressed by the speaker, in this case myself (ibid).

Through these internal and external dialogues, our world shifts and changes (Skinner et al, 2001) and we renegotiate the positions of our present world as teachers/learners.

It is hoped that my study will add to the diversity of voices in education (Bron 2002; McNess 2006; Piper and Garratt, 2004; Trahar, 2009). The more stories we hear and the more stories we tell, the more we are able to recognise the embedded stories that resonate across cultures (Cox, 2006; Cross, 2006; Doyle, 1997). Our reflective stories may enable a better understanding of how we view our different selves (Hermans, 1996, 2001) and how our interpretations of our experiences add to our professional practical knowledge landscape (Clandinin, 1985; Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Clandinin, 2008).

7.6 Implications of the Research

This empirical study has implications in four broad areas - the professional development of teachers, the communicative approach to teaching, methodological challenges within the cultural context of this study, and finally, the internationalisation of education and cultural diversity. Following a discussion of these implications, suggestions for future research will be made.

7.6.i Professional Development

On the basis of my findings, I suggest that by discussing critical incidents of learning and teaching with colleagues, teachers can become more reflective on teaching praxis, which in turn may have beneficial effects on class teaching and student learning. Becoming a teacher is a process which starts from the pre-service stage and continues through personal critical incidents which have an effect on the identity of a person due to their historical, geographical (spatial) and socio-cultural contexts (Harnett, 2010: 164). It is the personal identity that is the basis of the construction of professional practical knowledge (Clandinin, 1985), and it is this knowledge that teachers take with them into the classroom.

By sharing narrative stories with one another, in Professional Development sessions (Nabhani and Bahous, 2010) we may be provided with insight into each other's cultural contexts and backgrounds, which highlights the practical use of storytelling. It is recommended that it would be beneficial for teachers to share their personal and professional narratives as a form of bonding and also to further cultural understanding. This would not only be productive in environments where there is limited cultural diversity but would also be productive in diverse and multi-cultural expatriate environments where teachers may have colleagues from all over the world. GCU is an example of such an international work environment where there are over 30 nationalities teaching the English language. GCU holds weekly Professional Development Days (PDDs) where subjects of particular interest to language teachers are presented in lectures and workshops by educators within the department (locals and expatriates), and also by educators from abroad.

Due to the cultural context of being in an Arab (and Muslim) country, it would be beneficial to have orientation sessions for new teachers in order for them to be educated about the cultural environment. This may not only include outward differences, as in dress (for instance in clothing where female students wear the *abaya*, and men are required to wearing the *dishdasha*), but also differences in cultural, linguistic and pedagogical expectations.

Fatima sees teaching a play such as Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, as not only a linguistic challenge for her students but a cultural challenge as well (Fatima, Interview 2). The idea of the female protagonist of the play asserting her independence in her marriage is a concept that is alien to students in Omani society. Mansoor (2005) and Rahman recommend (2005) reading world literature that is closer to students' way of thinking so that they can relate more easily to the social and cultural issues they are reading about.

To give an example from English idiomatic language, telling students wearing traditional clothes in Arab countries to 'pull their socks up' would be using an incomprehensible

metaphor as sandals or slippers are normally worn without socks. With regard to pedagogical expectations, the learning and teaching culture needs to be kept in mind.

7.6.ii Communicative Teaching

For effective teachers to emerge from teacher training institutions, teachers are prepared to be able to transmit knowledge (Ali, 2011) and not to treat teaching as a technical activity of imparting content (as used by my participants) but to make their teaching interactive.

Identity construction is shown in my research where the participants' practical knowledge undermines the latest 21st century teaching skills (Ali, 2011). These skills, of critical thinking and collaborative learning, are to take the student to a higher dimension of thinking by exploring the learning process through interaction and discussion and arriving at their own answers. On the other hand, this can be a problem when there is no standardised form of teaching and the teachers are expected to keep pace with the subject matter of the same course, as is the norm at GCU. However, the range of issues that can be discussed using critical thinking in conservative societies is arguably a moot point. Should they not be discussed because this might conflict with students coming from different cultures with different ideologies? (Chege, 2009). For example, in a conservative society like Oman, it is not only culturally unacceptable, but teachers are contractually forbidden to encourage students to have critical discussions about political and religious issues.

One of the areas teacher training institutes could focus on, as part of their degree programmes, is a course in which the teachers are taught to collaborate and work in teams and practice cooperative learning themselves first, so that they can use this method in their own teaching. Lave and Wenger (1991) suggest this kind of "situated learning". This method can be applied by giving students problem-solving projects where they are given an ill-structured problem for which they are required to find a solution or, at the very least, a mitigation. This means they are taught group dynamics, to take responsibility

for their actions and to be critical thinkers. This will also help students going abroad and to study like my two participants and I did.

7.6.iii Methodological Recommendations

One of my suggestions for dealing with people from diverse cultural backgrounds is that ethics forms be oral, as often signing forms may bring reminders of discomfort with authority and bureaucracy.

Due to the very small number of expatriate Pakistani teachers at GCU, it has been a challenge to preserve the anonymity of my participants in such a small expatriate environment and close-knit educational community. Therefore, another recommendation that results from the conclusion of my empirical research, especially when undertaken in a close-knit expatriate environment, is to delay publication of academic materials and also the presentation of data at one's own institute. Whilst both the participants and educational institute have been given pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality, due to University of Bath's requirement to provide the reader with the context of the tertiary institution known as GCU, it is quite obvious which institution the pseudonym refers to.

Undertaking a study on education in the Pakistani context proved to be very challenging, time-consuming and costly due to a shortage of empirical research carried out in Pakistan. There were also difficulties in accessing materials and getting participants. The challenges of researching topics and countries which are not in the mainstream international arena are similar to the one I faced in my study on international Arab students in New Zealand (Naqvi, 2001).

7.6.iv The Internationalisation of Education and Cultural Diversity

The participants of my study did not have language problems when they studied abroad in the UK, as both were multi-lingual and had previous tertiary experience. However, the academic problems they faced arose from teachers' expectations of them as independent learners (Afshaan, Fatma, Interview 1). The expectations placed on them to be

independent learners and thinkers, left Fatima feeling ‘at sea’ (Fatima, Interview 1). My participants had only experienced teaching figures who were more authoritarian in their approaches.

Lynch (2015) reports that international students in Edinburgh University think that the rate at which lectures are given is too fast to understand and not clear. They also suggest the examples given by the lecture should be culture-specific. Education as a commodity has become internationalised (Lumby and Foskett, 2016), driven by both educational and commercial imperatives, so it is in the interests of educational institutions to help international students adjust and integrate with the mainstream student body by not only focussing on language problems, but on study habits and learning differences as well. International students need to be accommodated by preserving their culture and promoting equality by improving education, individual and societal benefits (ibid). My participants needed help with critically engaging with the reading texts, analysing them in written form and evaluating the texts, which they had not been used to doing without the direct supervision of the lecturer.

7.7 Further Research

As there is a gap in the literature relating to the personal and professional stories of my participants – Pakistani, Muslim, female tertiary educators living abroad – my study confirms Smart’s reflections on his own research area (on teachers’ personal journeys), that it is possible (and beneficial) to break away from “received and unquestioned life-history narratives and to give voice to those unquestioned and ignored” (Smart, 2010: 110) in academic discourse. Future research could be carried out to narrow this gap, utilising diverse participant groups as research ‘subjects’.

Research needs to be carried out on teachers and female teachers in schools and at the tertiary level in Pakistan. Another research area that is lacking is regards expatriate teachers and more specifically those originating from Pakistan. It is recommended that narrative research on a more diverse range (with links to other regions in Pakistan and

from varied socio-economic backgrounds) of expatriate tertiary female English teachers would provide more varied narrative stories and perhaps give more insights into the intermingled stories of educators' personal and professional lives.

Further research could be undertaken on international students' narratives and those of their teachers to discover commonalities in their views of learning and teaching. This needs to be a longitudinal study on a large scale to investigate effective learning and teaching from students' perspective.

7.8 Concluding Remarks

Our narratives may help us to reflect on our identity in the present time and space, as it is through reflection on action (Schon, 1983) that we view our selves not as historical beings, but as products of time, place and circumstance. There is a relationship between narrative and identity (Goodson and Sikes, 2001) and the type of identity that is being created is not "isolated from the question of cultural and historical context of this construction" (Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001:15). We need a 'narrative fabric' to help us understand not only the complexities of identity but also the deeper relationships between narrative and identity.

Through voicing our experiences, we can investigate and reexamine our ontological assumptions. When we listen to others' stories, we compare, contrast, reflect and try to relate our storylines to the stories we hear about other teachers' lives. In the words of Barrett: "...the most powerful quality of the narratives is their relatability" (Barrett, 2006: 124). This relatability of the narratives enables readers from different cultural backgrounds to sympathise, or even empathise, with such stories because the narratives of teachers will "help to bring them (the teachers) to life as thinking, feeling and doing human-beings". According to Barrett "...that in itself should be of value to researchers and policy-makers" (Barrett, 2006: 124).

Appendix I

University of Bath Department of Education

EdD PROGRAMME: ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PROPOSED RESEARCH

To be completed by the student and supervisors, and approved by the Director of Studies for the EdD before any data collection takes place

Introduction

1. Name(s) of researcher(s)

Misbah Naqvi

2. Provisional title of your research

Personal and Professional Identities of Expatriate, Pakistani, Muslim, Female, Teachers of English: The narratives thus far

3. Justification of Research

To explore the professional identities of expatriate Pakistani teachers working aboard in the Gulf Coeducational University (GCU).

Consent

4. Who are the main participants in your research (interviewees, respondents, raconteurs and so forth)?

My three colleagues.

5. How will you find and contact these participants?

I will personally approach them and have a face-to-face meeting at work.

6. How will you obtain consent? From whom?

After informing them of my research verbally and in writing, I'll request for their signed consent informing them that confidentiality will be maintained and they will be given pseudonyms. I'll also approach my supervisor and the Human Ethics Committee.

Deception

7. How will you present the purpose of your research? Do you foresee any problems including presenting yourself as the researcher?

I will explain this in written form. I do not see any problems as we have a good working and social relationship.

8. In what ways might your research cause harm (physical or psychological distress or discomfort) to yourself or others? What will you do to minimise this?

I'll make sure that we arrange to meet at a mutually convenient time for the interviews. The choice of interview place will be decided by the participant and I will make sure that the participant is relaxed and wants to continue with the interview. The duration of the interview will be determined by the participant.

Confidentiality

9. What measures are in place to safeguard the identity of participants and locations?

Pseudonyms will be used for participants and locations.

Accuracy

10. How will you record information faithfully and accurately?

With permission I'll audio-record the interviews and transcribe it, Then I'll share the transcript with the participants for their input as to the validity of the information. They will be given the choice to withdraw any information that they think needs to be deleted.

11. At what stages of your research, and in what ways will participants be involved?

The participants will be involved in two or three stages of interviews over a period of time.

12. Have you considered how to share your findings with participants and how to thank them for their participation?

I'll share the Findings by meeting them and if needed give a presentation.

I will thank them in the "Acknowledgments" of my thesis.

Additional Information

13. Have you approached any other body or organisation for permission to conduct this research?

No. There is no need.

14. Who will supervise this research?

My supervisor, Dr David Skidmore.

15. Any other relevant information.

No.

Student: Misbah Naqvi	Signature: Date:
Supervising Member(s) of Staff:	Signature(s): Date:
Director of Studies for EdD	Signature: Date:

A copy of this form to be placed in [1] the student file, and [2] an Ethics Approval File held by the Director of Studies for EdD Research Students.

Appendix II

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

The project is being carried out as a requirement for my EdD (Doctorate of Education) from Bath University, Department of Education, and UK.

You are invited to participate in the research project: *Personal and Professional identities of Expatriate, Pakistani Muslim Female Teachers of English: the Narratives thus Far*.

The aim of this project will be for me, as a story-teller/ narrator/ reflector, to embark on a journey of self-discovery with other teachers like myself through our personal and professional stories as they unfold, to fathom our individual and collective identities as EFL (English as a foreign Language) teachers (who themselves are multi-lingual) and are teaching Arab tertiary-level students.

You have been selected as you share similar historical, cultural, sociological, educational and maybe even psychological influences with me. We were born in Pakistan and had our basic education in Pakistan. The exploration of this project will be through audiotaped interviews to map the development of our interest to embark on a career of becoming teachers of English language.

Your involvement in this project will be firstly to participate in a semi-structured interview where you will be asked to talk about your childhood and yourself as a learner. The interview may be approximately an hour but you can talk as long as you would like to and can speak in Urdu, English or Punjabi or a mixture of the three.

The interview will be transcribed and anonymity will be preserved and pseudonyms will be given. The transcripts will be sent to you for your input/feedback/correction/deletion. After the data is studied and as more questions emerge there may be a second semi-structured interview in which you may be asked to tell me about yourself as a teacher/professional.

The same procedure will be followed as above and the transcripts will be sent to you for your approval. If there are more questions for clarification, there might be a third interview in order to ensure that you are comfortable with any information that you have imparted.

You have the right to withdraw from the project at any time before the submission of the thesis, including withdrawal of any information provided. The results of the project may be published. The data will be kept indefinitely unless otherwise advised by you.

Please write your name and sign below to indicate that you agree to be a participant in the above mentioned project.

Name:

Signature:

Thank you for your cooperation. Misbah Naqvi, EdD Doctor of Education student

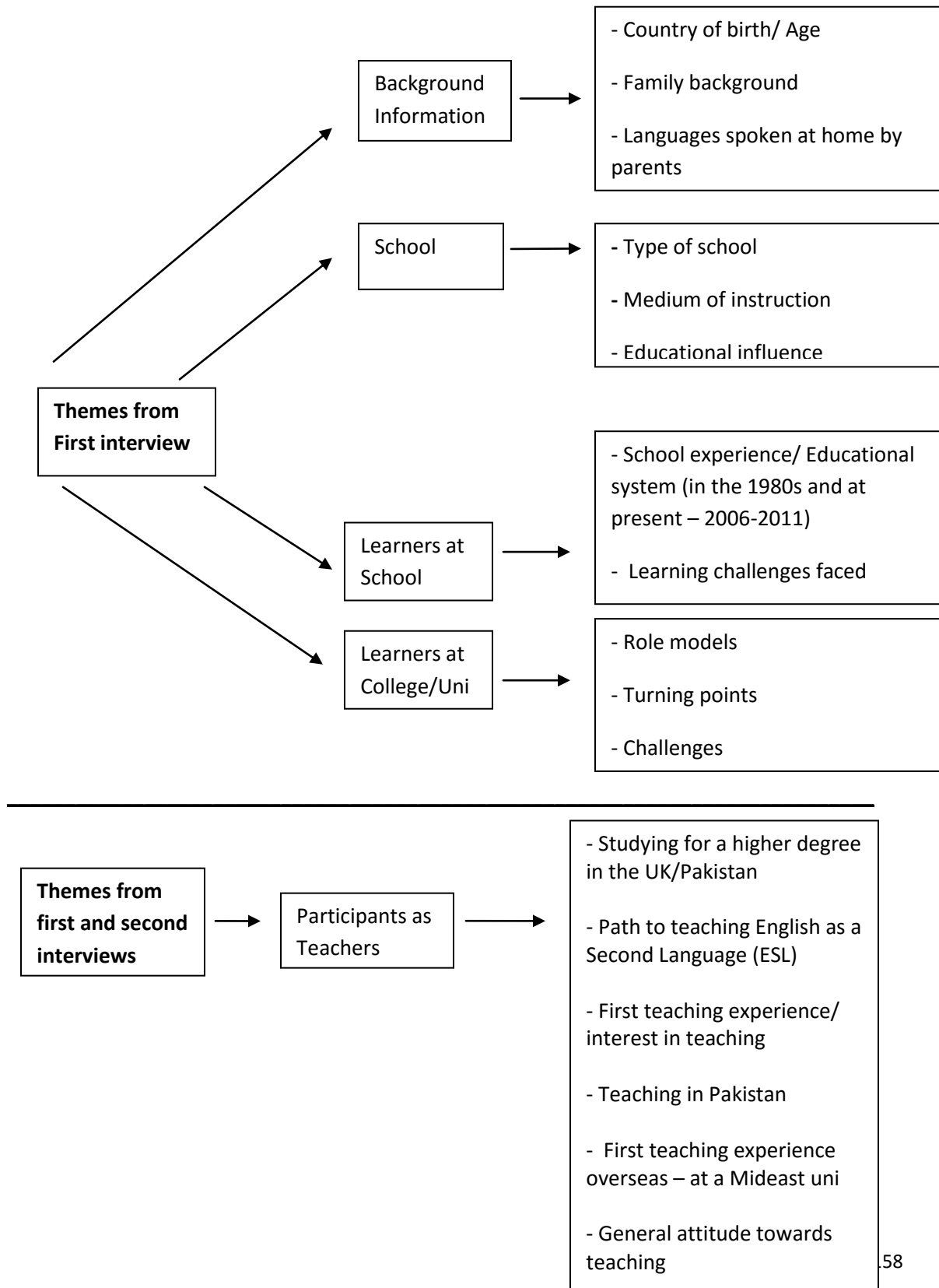
missinaqvi@yahoo.com

Signature :

Appendix III Dates of Interviews

	Fatima	Tahmina	Afshaan	Comments
First audiotaped Interview	June 13 2006 Taped 45 mins plus non taped 2 hours	June 10 2006 Taped 2 hours plus non-taped 2hrs 15 mins	Jan 30 2007 1 hour 20 mins	All interviews in the participants'' house on campus in the Arabian Gulf
Second Follow up	May 24 2009 About 30 mins	Nov 23 2009 About 30 mins	May 19 2009 About 30 mins	
Third Follow-up Audiotaped interview Questionnaire with 10 Qs to fill in info for Qualification and teaching experience	May 24 2011 Face-to-face In office at work	May 24 2011 Face-to-face In office in her office at work	June 16 2011 Overseas so emailed questions and reply sent by email	

Appendix IV Themes from First and Second Interviews



Appendix V Tables I – IX of Themes from Interviews

All three participants were born in the early '60s. President Zia-ul-Haq was in power 1977 to 1988, Hudood Ordinance – political, social constraints **First Interview: June 2006- January 2007. Conducted while the participants' were working at GCU (first teaching experience and only teaching experience outside of Pakistan).**

Table I Background

Background			
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
First Interview	30 June 2006	10 June 2006	30 January 2007
Year/Place of Birth	1964, Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan	1960, Rawalpindi, Punjab, Pakistan	1960, Sargodha, Punjab, Pakistan
Family Background and Educational influence	<p>She does not mention her interest in reading at home.</p> <p>Her mother completed Senior Cambridge (foreign exams) at the same elite English- medium Convent school. Punjabi as a first language, but fluent in English as well.</p> <p>Her father was a banker in Lahore and abroad.</p> <p>Her parents were very progressive. Wanted daughters to have higher education and not marry them off early. There was pressure, not from extended family, but from parents' friends. (upper middle-class family)</p>	<p>She read Urdu and English literature.</p> <p>Her father read Urdu literature.</p> <p>Her mother did not finish school. Was only fluent in Punjabi.</p> <p>Her father was a Senior Civil Servant in Rawalpindi</p> <p>Her father wanted all his children to have a Masters degrees.</p> <p>She did not live in an extended family. (upper middle-class family)</p>	<p>She read her father's Urdu Digest magazines. Her mother did not finish school. Was only fluent in Punjabi.</p> <p>Her father was a Lawyer in Sargodha.</p> <p>She and her three siblings were all sent to Convent English-speaking schools by her parents. This was in opposition to the extended family, as all of the other cousins attended Urdu schools. Her parents withstood the family pressure and wanted their children to have a good education at Convent schools. She lived in an extended family system (upper middle-class family)</p>
Marital status	She was unmarried at the time of all three interviews: from June 2006- May 2011.	She got married in 1988, has two boys, and her husband is also an English teacher.	She got married in 1979, att 19. She has a son and daughter, and her husband, a barrister, is in Pakistan and 10 years older.

Table I Background (contd.)

Background			
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
First Interview	30 June 2006	10 June 2006	30 January 2007
Speaking English	Yes (additional languages Urdu and Punjabi).	Yes (additional languages Urdu and Punjabi).	Yes (additional languages Urdu and Punjabi).
Identity as a Muslim (as seen through dress)	She wore the traditional dress in Pakistan which was shalwar, kameez and a dupatta but started wearing western clothes in GCU later.	She wore the traditional dress in Pakistan which was shalwar, kameez and a dupatta but started wearing western clothes in GCU later.	She wore the traditional dress in Pakistan which was shalwar, kameez and a dupatta. She started covering her hair in Pakistan and even in the UK but later did not cover her hair in Pakistan and even in GCU.

Table II Schooling

Schooling			
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
First Interview	30 June 2006	10 June 2006	30 January 2007
Medium of instruction	English. Urdu was taught as a subject, Islamic Studies taught as a subject.	Some subjects were taught in English, some taught in Urdu.	Some subjects were taught in English, some in Urdu.
School experience/ Teachers	She “cried her eyes out” when she would go to school due to the strict discipline there.	Her experience at school was “nightmarish”. She was often punished for being cheeky as she made fun of English pronunciation. Teachers were jealous of her because of her father’s senior government position.	She did not enjoy memorisation at school and grammar translation for learning English and Urdu. She would have preferred to have been allowed to borrow more books from the school library.
Learning Problems in childhood	Teachers’ wanted her to memorise lessons and multiplication tables. Because they were not explained, she did not do well in Maths. As a result she could not do science and could not do an MBA, or so her career choices were limited.	Teachers’ wanted her to memorise lessons and not ask questions. Therefore she found maths difficult as there was no interaction while learning so she did not understand anything and could not even ask questions.	Teachers’ wanted her to memorise lessons. She found learning the Quran difficult as it was in Arabic. The emphasis was on proper pronunciation and rote-learning by the male Maulvi who went to the house to teach. She found it boring and tedious, and so could only cover a very small part of the 30 chapters of the Quran.

Table III College in Pakistan

College in Pakistan			
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
	First Interview: 30 June 2006	First Interview: 10 June 2006	First Interview: 30 January 2007
Learners at College	She had to memorise Islamic Studies texts and reproduce them so it was an easy subject to get good grades in.	She had to memorise Persian which was an elective subject. She was not a rote-learner so dropped the course.	She did not do well in College as wasn't able to cram. Had learning difficulties with memorisation, which she many years later put down to her dyslexia.
Self-analysis and Participants' reflections	<p>She came out of school a "very insipid girl. Hence she "rebelled" at College.</p> <p>Her personality further changed in the UK, trying to make decisions on her own.</p> <p>At the time of the interview, she says, "I was "branded as a misfit" in Pakistan and, she stated, "I'm in a tussle with my culture".</p>	<p>Considered herself [<i>battamiz</i>], a "brattish child".</p> <p>She was brought up to think that she did not have to work.</p> <p>Considers herself lucky that has had the opportunity, and the training, to teach EFL because just studying English literature, according to her, does not prepare one to teach English language.</p> <p>She feels privileged that she has "a chance to go and explore" her "talents", compared to some women who do not get the same opportunities, but instead have to stay home.</p>	<p>At home, she was "always criticised for reading" and had to "sneak" the <i>Urdu Digest</i> underneath her clothes to take it to the bathroom to read.</p> <p>She says she has had a "blessed life" as she "has achieved" all she wanted to and she worked hard for it—at the time it was very "hard and tough" she says.</p> <p>She calls each woman in Pakistan a "lone warrior" who is fighting battles on her own.</p>

Table IV Studying Abroad, Culture Shock - Second Masters' degree from the United Kingdom

Studying Abroad, Culture Shock - Second Masters' degree from the United Kingdom		
Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
First Interview: 30 June 2006	First Interview: 10 June 2006	First Interview: 30 January 2007
<p>After having been a teacher at a prestigious college in Pakistan, had thought that she was "God's gift to earth".</p> <p>She went abroad to Nottingham for her second Masters. She found that, in the UK was "completely at sea". Here she felt "apprehensive" as "no guidance" and totally left to work on her own.</p> <p>Compares how she was guided whilst a student in Pakistan and how she guided her own students. <i>There was no one she could "run to" for help.</i></p>	<p>She did not study outside Pakistan.</p>	<p>She said that in order to become a Lecturer at tertiary level, and because other married teachers were foreign qualified, she felt that she "needed to go abroad and top up" her degree. She went abroad to Leeds for her second M.A..</p> <p>She emphasised how unusual it was for a woman to go away on her own. She says, "it is alright for thousands of husbands going away to complete their education... but it is absolutely unheard of a woman going away to facilitate herself regarding her education or her career".</p> <p>Whilst doing her Masters in the UK, she found it challenging when asked for her input, for example with essay writing, as she was "not conditioned to do" so. She struggled with having to "produce" on her own, rather than being expected to "reproduce", which is what she was used to in a culture where the teacher is the authority. She enjoyed not having to memorise, but she had to learn how to evaluate and think on her own.</p>

Table V Turning Point - College in Pakistan: First Interview: June 2006-Jan 2007

Turning Point - College in Pakistan: First Interview: June 2006-Jan 2007			
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
	30 June 2006	10 June 2006	30 January 2007
Educational turning point	<p>She enjoyed studying English literature at college as she could relate it to her life.</p> <p>A Pakistani Christian teacher a few years older than her whilst she was doing her B.A. and M.A., inspired her by relating English literature to life, and especially to the situation in Pakistan at the time – retrogressive laws for women when President Zia-ul-Haq was in power. The teacher was a few years older than her and had been to the same school and college as her.</p>	<p>Her father was her role model. He encouraged all of his children. He wanted all of them to be “properly educated” – which meant a Master’s degree, which they all completed.</p> <p>She enjoyed literature as she could have good discussions in class with her teachers and also with her father especially in Urdu literature.</p> <p>It was a turning point when her friend suggested a teaching job the summer after she finished her M.A. - she started teaching 10 days after her exams finished.</p>	<p>Her parents stood up to the extended family to send her from a rural area (Sargodha) to College in Lahore to do her B.A.. She wasn’t able to finish her studies however, as was married off in the last year of her degree and fell pregnant. When her son was about a year old, she attended a dinner party with her barrister husband and a politician’s wife (who was teaching in a College) spoke to her for about 7 minutes and encouraged her to complete her B.A. degree. This conversation “changed her life”.</p> <p>As a mature student she went to evening classes to study M.A. linguistics and her teachers were her age or a bit younger – they were all foreign qualified – either in the UK or USA. They were strong role models for her.</p>

Table VI Path to EFL: Educational Background

Path to EFL: Educational Background		
First Interview: June 2006 – Jan 2007; Second Interview May 2009 - November 2009; Third Interview May 2011- June 2011		
Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
After completing her BA in English at Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, she undertook a M.A. in English at the same College, which she completed in 1989. Soon after finishing her Masters, she was invited to teach English at the same College, and started teaching there.	After her B.A., she wanted to go to Lahore (from Rawalpindi) to do a Master's in Political Science. Her father however objected to her living in a hostel. So instead, she sat a test to enter a prestigious College for women in Rawalpindi to do a Master's in English Literature (as she had enjoyed the discussions in class and engagement with the subject during her B.A.), she completed this in 1983.	She was married off when she was a final year BA student at Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, to a Barrister, ten years her senior. She went back to sit her Final B.A. exams after her first child was one-and-a half years old.
While she was teaching, she undertook a Postgraduate, Diploma Teaching English as a Second Language offered by the British Council, in Pakistan (1996).	She had no intentions of working after studying, but was told about a vacancy at a School for a part-time teacher (for all subjects) soon after finishing her exams for her Master's. She eventually became Head teacher at the same school in 1987.	Her first teaching job, at a Non-Government Organisational (NGO) School, was when her children were school-going age. She taught English there, later becoming Headmistress. She then started teaching at her children's primary school in 1990. Whilst teaching, she completed an in-Service Certificate in Teaching (Bradford 1995, from Pakistan).
She took a leave of absence from her teaching post, and went on a partial scholarship to Nottingham, UK, to do a Masters in Educational Management in 1999.	After this, she got a part-time job at the National Institute of Modern Languages (a military institute). She was required to sit a Public Service Examination to become a permanent member of staff. She taught	She considered doing a Master's degree after having her second child, but did not wish to study English Literature (which she considered one of the only available options open to women) as one of the requirements was to memories notes and reproduce them. She knew she would not have been able

<p>Her second Masters' degree was undertaken as she wanted a different career option. She wanted to be able to leave Pakistan, to escape the restrictions on women, especially because she was single. She applied abroad for a teaching job at GCU, where she is still teaching.</p> <p>She did a PhD Management through distance learning from the U.S.A. in 2005.</p> <p>She is also a Course Coordinator for students who are studying to become future English teachers.</p>	<p>English language to foreign students.</p> <p>She started a Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) Master's whilst teaching. She was also expecting her second child. Her husband was then studying in the UK for a second M.A. and soon afterwards found a job abroad to teach English at GCU.</p> <p>She opted for the Post Graduate Certificate in TEFL in 1995 rather than completing the degree. This was in order to join her husband abroad, which she did by the end of 1996 where she was hired as a part-time English teacher. After a couple of years became a permanent member of staff.</p> <p>She is also a Course Coordinator for Medical Students.</p>	<p>to pass if she did not understand what she was learning. She even tried to go for a law degree but realized she would have to memorise for it. Furthermore, there were no evening classes. She was also very busy as a mother with a busy husband so she didn't continue with it.</p> <p>She opted to do a year-long Master's degree in English Language Teaching (ELT) at Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore and completed it in 1999. She was able to take evening classes to complete this while working full-time in a private school.</p> <p>She went abroad to do a Master's degree in Linguistics and ELT, at Leeds University which was completed in 2000. Her plan was to become a Lecturer of Applied Linguistics.</p> <p>In 2004 she applied to teach at GCU and moved to the Arabian Gulf. She decided to leave GCU after three years and re-join her husband in Pakistan.</p>
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Table VII Path to EFL and GCU: Relevant Tertiary Qualifications

Summary of Participants' first teaching experience in Pakistan

All three were not trained teachers for their first teaching jobs. Fatima and Tehmina trained at tertiary level while they were teaching. Afshaan, like the other two, did not have any formal teaching experience when she started teaching at her children's primary school. It was an elite private English-medium school where she had in-service teacher training.

Path to EFL and GCU: Relevant Tertiary Qualifications			
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
	First Interview: 30 June 2006	First Interview: 10 June 2006	First Interview: 30 January 2007
<i>Formal teaching qualifications at start of teaching career</i>	None	None	None
Year of B.A.	1987	1981	Approximately 1986
Year of first M.A.	1989	1983	1999
Year of first teaching position	1989	1983	Approximately 1988
<i>Year of formal teaching qualifications</i>	1996	1995	1995
Year of second M.A.	1999	-	2000
Joined GCU	1 st February, 1999	Started as a part-timer at the end of 1996 and then was made a full-time teacher after a couple of years.	October 2004
Teaching Experience at the time of the 1st interview 2006/2007	About 15 1/2 years	About 20 years	About 18 years

Table VIII Interest in Teaching - Third Interview

Interest in Teaching - Third Interview		
Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
23rd May, 2011	23rd May, 2011	via Email, 16th June, 2011
<i>"I had not thought about it. As soon as I graduated was offered the post. I thought it was a great honour then it became my career, no formal thought had gone into it."</i>	<i>"No formal thought process. It was accidental. "Urdu – "my results had not even been announced".</i>	<i>"After being a housewife and mother of two children for about 7 years, wanted to work outside home. Teaching was first option for two reason, Firstly: being interested in teaching; and secondly...it meant going to work at the same venue as my children."</i>

Table IX Approach to teaching

Approach to teaching: What metaphors do they use to describe themselves as teachers?			
	Fatima	Tehmina	Afshaan
How they see themselves as teachers	<p>A “<i>serious, strict teacher</i>”, a “<i>facilitator</i>”.</p> <p>Does not like “<i>frivolity</i>”.</p> <p>Sets “<i>ground rules</i>” and expects students to adhere to them.</p>	<p>She explains that she likes to have control in the classroom, and she takes the class where she wants it to go. She says that his was her training in the institute she worked and was trained in –in Pakistan</p> <p><i>Organised, control in class, strict, dry, sets parameters. Also eclectic.</i></p>	<p>Student-oriented but the teaching was all about her.</p> <p><i>“I’m no longer at the centre of the stage”. Now my teaching is student-focused</i>” and not curriculum- driven.</p> <p>Developing not only study skills but thinking skills; “<i>Lenient</i>” and “<i>not as rigid</i>” as she used to be.</p> <p>Has evolved as a teacher – she says.</p>
Attitude towards teaching in Pakistan	<p><i>Collaborative.</i></p> <p>Students mature attitude towards learning and understanding – more exposed to ideas</p>	<p>Students motivated, and fee-paying so maybe made a difference to their motivational level - mature attitude towards learning</p>	<p>Very varied educational system – students expect to be spoon-fed. Need guidance towards planning their studies –more study skills needed</p>
Attitude towards teaching at university at the Arabian Gulf where students are 18 or 20 years old.	<p>Increased cultural awareness of Arabian Gulf students. This has stopped her thinking that they are not as mature and aware as her M.A. and B.A. students in Pakistan.</p>	<p>No “ha-ha, hoho” in class or childish language learning games- treats them “<i>as university students should be treated</i>”.</p>	<p><i>“Student focussed”.</i></p> <p>Training students to be independent learners and thinkers. However, they still depend on rote-learning while preparing for exams and do not perform as well as in the final exams as they would during the term tests. They revert to their old school habit of rote-learning and reproducing.</p>

Appendix VI

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Problems with maths.....	2
Urdu writing difficult.....	2
Traditional teachers.....	2
College interesting as could contribute.....	3
Subjects in college	3
Creativity not dev in school but at home	3
English classroom assignments and written work	3
MA lectures interesting.....	4
Both Urdu and Eng lit at home	4
Born in Quetta and grew up In Rawalpindi, studies, marriage, children(age 5 till marriage).....	4
Model School Rawalpindi.....	5
Educational background at the time.....	5
Date of Birth 10 th May 1960 youngest of 5 children (eldest brother , then three sisters)....	2
Very close to her father/ mother a simple person	5
Mother would read Urdu Digest / not well versed in English so they made fun of her	5
Urdu writing difficult.....	5
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Her school “totally crumbled”	6
Best teachers leaving Pak for posts in Pak Embassy schools abroad	6
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Appendix VI (contd.)

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Her Model School from junior to high school could not maintain high standards	7
Strong sense of belonging to Pakistan	7
First child (son) 1990, second 1995, married 1988	7
Met husband at the Language Centre, colleagues.....	7/8
Language University Islamabad established late 70s early 80s.....	8
Inducted through the Public Service Commission- sat an exam.....	8/9
TEFL	9
Did MA English Literature prepare her to teach English? Did MA in 1981/1989.....	9/10
All 3 older sisters have MAs (English, Chemistry, Psychology)	10
MA 1981/1982 C. B. College Rawalpindi (prestigious college – single sex) but school co-ed.....	10
FA BA Government College for Women ,Rawalp.....	10
No problems having friends over at home to visit with their families who were boys	10
I think that lit doesn't work as a reflection of life.....	10/11
Has read Urdu literature – common occurrence in the house.....	11/12
Had to leave Urdu lit as busy with TEFL courses for language teachers: taken in order to be trained by UGC	12
TEFL diploma.....	12
Coming to Oman/ low standard students compared to Pakistani students	12
Students highly motivated in Pakistan.....	12

Appendix VII Fatima First Interview Transcript - Tuesday, 13 June 2006

1 M This is part of narratives, narratives of people who are like me coming from
2 a similar background and so on and their stories basically its their stories but
3 to focus on I have said critical incidences of learning.

4 F Stories of learning -

5 M Stories of learning Stories of learning [Urdu] mey sub kuch hey aa jata
6 hai. (Everything is included in stories of learning.) the people around
7 you and so on

8 F The factor that contributed to learning

9 M Mmmmm anything, - what about myself I wrote about nursery rhymes.
10 Where did how did I start who started it and so on and from there my
11 interest in reading certain things and how did it develop. So from there
12 critical incidents [Urdu]. bhi aa jata hai. (are also included.) so if you
13 want to start, where ever you want to start obviously starting from child-
14 hood because that's -

15 F I am trying to recall where do I start and what do I say because my big
16 memory Is of being unable to master tables maths and that has been such
17 a stumbling block in my life and that kind of developed a kind of a
18 psychological wall a psychological block that I decided that I could not
19 do maths which actually then contributed to what I did later because
20 everything that I did was like a reaction to maths. Since I cannot do
21 maths therefore I cannot do science. Since I cannot do maths I cannot go
22 and do go and do MBA. Since I cannot do maths I cannot do this so that
23 was a kind of a block which I do not know how it started. Now let me
24 go back I don't know whether it was the teacher or the teaching
25 methodology Ummm the fear of rejection, the fear of failure or what it
26 was but I had decided that I cannot do this.

27 M How old were you then?

28 F Ummm I was in class three or four when do they start learning
29 table I cannot even remember that it so far gone?

30 M In different schools.....learnt it after they came here
31 and they were about six so I would say class two or three.

32 F In class two or three I was so petrified I had developed such a paranoia
33 regarding tables that I could never really understand it, it was quite simple
34 if only someone had explained to me that is you just have to multiply and
35 add which I learned later and even to date this is how I do it I don't know
36 my tables but I multiply and I add so that is one thing. Now so going back
37 to now this was a kind of uum stumbling block to learning as far as
38 languages were concerned. Basically the two languages Urdu, you are
39 surrounded by Urdu in Pakistan so I really don't the sad part is that I am not
40 able to write Urdu well, I can read Urdu but I am not a good writer, now
41 again umm it could be the difficult grammar it could be the style of
42 teaching, it could also be the fact that being it could be the style of teaching,
43 it could also be the fact that being in a convent school we were not really
44 encouraged to do well in Urdu but English was more emphasised and the
45 focus was on English which was unfortunate because you then you feel that
46 you have missed out on a lot. Actually I went back to studying Urdu
47 literature much later in life. Actually now going back six or seven years that
48 I developed this interest in Urdu poetry and Urdu as a language and -

49 M What made you do it?

50 F I don't know what made me do that, I think it was just this ummm this
51 umm maybe when I came here I realised that my identity being a
52 Pakistani - I should have known my language a little better and which
53 you do not realise in Pakistan doesn't matter because you are surrounded
54 by the language and it really but once you step out of Pakistan into a
55 different culture and you feel that no I have to make a place for myself
56 and Urdu is my language and it is my identity and I think that is what
57 inspired me.

58 M Why Urdu and not Punjabi?

59 F And Punjabi ..Why not Punjabi? umm with Punjabi I am very
60 comfortable with speaking but again it was I wasn't introduced to it
61 formally. Urdu at least we were introduced to it formally in school so
62 you do have reference point you do know the old writers, you do know
63 the poets so even if you hadn't started them earlier it was easier to go
64 back to because it was familiar. Punjabi I am now developing an

65 interest in poetry etc because you are never introduced to Punjabi
 66 formally in school.

67 M So what age were you introduced to Urdu in school?

68 F Urdu we I think class one – two we started right from the literature that
 69 really inspired me that came much later and as it beginning but ahh it is
 70 is with all literature whether it is English or Urdu it is only much later in
 71 life when you go through certain experiences that you are able to
 72 appreciate and understand it. I remember when we used to study some
 73 novels and short stories or plays in school they never had any meaning
 74 for me it was more like okay you have got to understand this you have to
 75 write about it because you have to get a certain grade other than that it
 76 didn't really move me. It is only later that you can associated with the
 77 emotions that you can associate with the ideas that are being put forward
 78 in those in those stories.

79 M Mmmmm

80 F I think maturity and age are also contributes a lot these are
 81 important factors these are important factors.

82 M So you think that after you became a teacher that you started to
 83 appreciate literature more?

84 F Ummm

85 M Or before you became a teacher?

86 F Umm aah well it is not just being the teacher bit that I would like to talk
 87 about I became a teacher very early in life the moment I finished my
 88 Masters I hadn't even got my degree and I started teaching so there was
 89 you know not such a major break uuum I think I got interested -
 90 literature because English literature I did my Masters in it there was a
 91 continuity BA to MA and then into teaching so there was a continuity
 92 but Urdu there was a major break after school or after I did my
 93 intermediate there was not Urdu for many years and that is why I am not
 94 able to write Urdu very well.

95 M By the way we can have this interview in Urdu, English or
 96 Punjabi.

97 F Yah. So that didn't really I don't know whether no I don't think

98 being a teacher has anything to do with it.....my own interests.
 99 M So being a teacher now how do you think your teachers were
 100 teaching you literature English literature?
 101 F Mmmmm
 102 M In your Masters or even BA
 103 F How they were teaching us?
 104 M Mmmmm
 105 F Now again you see aaah I can't say that all the teachers were good and I
 106 won't say that all of them were mediocre. We had a mixed bag there were
 107 some mixed bag there were some teachers that really inspired me and that is
 108 why I did my Masters because the way they introduced me to literature aaah
 109 how the way the taught me how to analyse the way they related fiction to
 110 non-fiction fiction to life that is basically what inspired me and then there
 111 were some teachers who kind of sleep walked through the whole thing but I
 112 would really like to remember one teacher who did inspire me and I think I
 113 did my Masters just because of her. She was just stunning She had just
 114 come in as aaah she was new and aaah we started doing Pictor.... with her
 115 and we started doing other writers with her and aaah the interesting thing
 116 was that she would relate everything that we had read she would relate the
 117 written word to real life experiences.
 118 M How old
 119 F People that she knew and this is how we started to make connections
 120 also and that is how literature became a life for us, especially for me
 121 M How old were you then tell me?
 122 F I would say 20
 123 M Mmm
 124 F 20
 125 M so that
 126 F So that was the turning point that is what made me think, analyse and I
 127 think it is because of her or because of all that we were doing at that
 128 time that you know I am able to read between the lines. I am able to
 129 read the sub text very well and I am able to read personalities very well
 130 that in fact became a life skill, a skill for life. What I started studying, in

131 fact, it translated into something more useful and now when people tell
 132 me you are quite good at judging not judging that is the wrong word to
 133 use but understanding people and I would I think I I would take It back
 134 to that time.

135 M Mmmm

136 F Reading the sub-text very well

137 M So can you say anything about her background, educational
 138 background?

139 F A similar background she started from the convent she went onto do her
 140 Masters in literature came into teaching because she loved literature so she
 141 came into teaching and it was only later that she went on to do her PhD etc
 142 etc I think she is heading one of the departments at Kinnard, at the moment.
 143 Her name is Dr Isabel William and ummm she has been a great influence.

144 M So she is a Pakistani?

145 F She is a Pakistani

146 M Pakistani Christian

147 F Pakistani Christian studied at the convent and in fact she is just
 148 a couple of years older than me

149 M Mmmm

150 F So there is also a very strong friendship that formed after I did my Masters
 151 then I was doing my Masters it was a teacher/student kind of thing but after
 152 that because it was only I think four or five year apart that she became a
 153 very good friend and even now if there is a problem if there is anything that
 154 I a need whether it can be a personal problem or anything I always go back
 155 to her. That was the kind of bond that I developed with her.

156 M So what you were doing with English literature how did you relate it to your
 157 life in Pakistan? How did she relate it to her life in Pakistan?

158 F Umm at that point we were doing a lot of feminist literature I I was reading
 159 George Elliot at that time and I remember that I used to draw a lot of
 160 parallels Uuummm between the book and my own life especially Maggie
 161 Tallevor and being in Pakistan and being in that society and you see I am
 162 going back to the late 80's and early 90's and this was when Zia influence
 163 was still very much there and women did feel a little frustrated and women

164 were very suppressed I am not talking about now, now things have changed
 165 but that was the time when were talking about a lot of suppression so
 166 whatever George Elliott was saying it was so easy to relate to because one
 167 could feel the frustration of Maggie Tulliver [Character from Mill on the
 168 Floss], that she is trying to reach out and all her environment her family
 169 everyone is pulling her back and this is not the fate but I mean this is the
 170 kind of thing most women in Pakistan do go through and Certainly the
 171 woman of the 80's and Zia ul Haq was in power and we had a lot of
 172 chaadar and the pardaa controversy

173 M Mmm and that was when he when – well- he started these laws in Pakistan

174 F Yes that was the beginning of all that

175 M Sharia law

176 F Sharia law in fact it started before I even entered college and we are now
 177 talking about my Masters and that was the time when he was he had aaah he
 178 had been blown to pieces but even after that the remains were there we were
 179 not able to come out, out of that shroud that he had cast upon us. You know
 180 now when you are growing up, your early teens that was the time when Zia
 181 had – he was there very much there mid 80's and that is the time that I went
 182 to college and we were faced by that Hudood law .

183 M Hudood Law Ordinance

184 F [Urdu] Sharia ke problems thhai – kaffe cheezen ho raheen thheen Zia
 185 kay zammanee main. (There were problems of Sharia – there were
 186 many things happening in Zia's time.)

187 M (Urdu) rape wagheira - (Rape etc)

188 F [Urdu] Rape wagheira to abhee bhi hay. You see rape abhee bhi ho
 189 rahey hain inheen kay Pakistan main (Rape, etc are still happening. You
 190 see rapes are still happening. You see rapes are still occurring in their
 191 Pakistan.) but also happening in America and everywhere.

192 M Mmmmmm

193 F So that is something different. Domestic abuse is in fact more
 194 common in America than Pakistan so leaving that aside it was that
 195 women were not allowed to blossom or to grow or to prosper or to
 196 develop.

197 M How did other women feel who were older than you and who
 198 hadn't been through that stage and you were in that very formative
 199 age?
 200 F They were not you see
 201 M They were not affected
 202 F They were not affected because by that time they had been formed
 203 whatever they were their personality had been formed right you see so
 204 for them, they could not kind of relate to what was happening to us this
 205 new generation was happening to us this new generation that was
 206 coming up in Pakistan.
 207 M They were not sympathetic or empathetic?
 208 F They were sympathetic but you see the fate of most Pakistani women in
 209 Pakistan they accept and they were resigned.
 210 M Why do you think they do this?
 211 F It was the culture and the environment you see because when you fight a
 212 system it is easy to fight it now because of so many changes that have come
 213 into the culture. Going back to the 80's it was not very easy to fight that. So
 214 there was this general air of resignation os ok this is what you should study
 215 and this is how I would say ay this is it this is how good girls should be and
 216 that I was still very lucky because I was allowed to study. There were so
 217 many girls who were married off after their matric, them married.)
 218 M At that time?
 219 F At that time. [Urdu] F.A. Main shadi kar do, shadi kar do, bas shadi kar
 220 do. (Get her married in F.A. Get her married, get her married.) I think I
 221 was very lucky because I had very progressive minded parents I was not
 222 pushed into that but you are affected by the environment generally, it is
 223 very much there it's a reality.
 224 M Did you feel under a lot of pressure did you as a
 225 F Sure
 226 M as a young girl?
 227 F That pressure yes of course I mean that pressure is always there I
 228 think even now for girls in Pakistan the pressure is there, because
 229 if you don't find the right person there is something wrong with you

230 and parents are, I think psyched into believing that this the sooner
 231 to get rid of them marry them off (laugh).....

232 M Do you think Islam has something to do with this or is it the culture?

233 F I don't think Islam has anything to do with this I think it is the culture
 234 which we which we have inherited aaaah Islam I think is distorted more.
 235 I don't think Islam has any or has made any boundaries of age or of
 236 anything. I think Islam gives you a lot of freedom which I see in fact I
 237 had a misconception of Islam when I came to Oman I realised that Islam
 238 is pretty open I mean it allows re-marriage there is no problem with
 239 divorced women if the divorce [Urdu] idhar divorce hoti hey udhar
 240 dosree shadi kar laitey hain, idhar widow hoti hey (They get remarried
 241 after divorce or being widowed). Your children, my children I think it is
 242 a happy go lucky kind of a situation but in Pakistan but we believe that
 243 if there is an engagement which has been broken there is a major
 244 problem if a marriage is broken that is even a much bigger problem and
 245 if you are a widow then you might as well go and perform sati.

246 M Ummm

247 F [Urdu] Aap ko to rahnay ka haq hi nahi hai, aap khud anakhista
 248 these (30) cross kar laitey hain to aap koo jeeney ka haq hey
 249 nahin hai, aap ko haq hi nahin hai zinda rahna ka. (You don't have
 250 any right to live if God forbid you are over 30, you have no right,
 251 you have no right to live.)

252 M (Laughs)

253 F [Urdu] So hamara (so our) to So I don't think it has anything to do
 254 with Islam but yet in Islam misconceptions [Urdu] bohat hain (many)
 255 with Islam in Pakistan

256 M So I mean when you went to school was there any Islamic study?

257 F No, we did not have Islamic Studies in school, in fact in intermediate
 258 and the sad part here is [Urdu] padhay - . Kabhi nahin, keh kya padh
 259 (we studied and sometimes didn't, that what are we studying?) we were
 260 not inspired

261 M [Urdu] Urdu mein tha ke Arabic mein? (Was it in Urdu or Arabic?)

262 F [Urdu] Urdu mein bhi tha English mein bhi tha. (It was in Urdu

263 and English.) - you could choose aaah we were never inspired
 264 never really understood what we were studying or reading it was
 265 only that this was an easy way to get 100% marks because you
 266 should get a first division and the easy thing would be to get 98% of
 267 95% in Islamic studies which is very easy [Urdu] Suraht yad
 268 kar lo or kalama yad kar lo- (Learn the Surahs and the Kalima.)

269 M Rote learning

270 F Rote learning [Urdu] yeh hoti ja rahee thee - abhee – (That was
 271 continuing – and now -) when I became a teacher now when I
 272 look back and I say my God how did we abuse the education
 273 system. Is it the system, is it the methodology is it are there other?
 274 factors e.g. teaching in Pakistan as you Well know is not a very
 275 paying job its not a very aaaaaah cushy job aaaaaah
 276 most of the teachers are pretty frustrated with life so they are not
 277 interested in what they are teaching [Urdu.] Un ko bhi yeh hota hai
 278 bas, hai chotey motai salary packet lay ke challay gai, tuitions
 279 padhanay ghar main (They also feel, to get a small salary packet,
 280 they go to homes to give tuitions.) they also have to make both
 281 ends meet and make do and make-up on their own frustrations
 282 so sadly that kind of fire that should have come from within
 283 them and which should have come to us never happened that
 284 connection was never there.

285 M So

286 F So we were not really connected now when I look at children
 287 especially when I look at A and A going to school and other
 288 friends and their children going to school they seem to enjoy school
 289 why didn't we enjoy school?

290 M Mmmmmmmmm

291 F Why were we so afraid I remember I hated going to school I would
 292 cry my eyes out I would say I don't want to go to school and now
 293 when I analyse and I recall I think it had a lot to do with teachers
 294 and the discipline of the convent, I used to be so scared.

295 M What was what was the scary part the uniforms, the assemblies

296 the?

297 F The behaviour this is how you should behaviour if you haven't

298 done your home work it is the end of life, you should not walk like

299 this, you should not be heard you should not laugh loudly, you

300 should not say this, you should always obey - all these rules

301 kind of I think they destroyed my entire personality.

302 M Mmmmm.

303 F And I came out of school a very insipid aaah girl who was afraid of

304 every thing - She didn't want to upset the apple cart and I think

305 that I rebelled in going to Kinnard and going into a far more open

306 atmosphere I think in a way I rebelled and I think that is how I

307 developed my personality but it happened later in life.

308 M So where did you start in Kinnard? From the beginning? From you..

309 F FA, BA and then Masters and then I taught there for about eight

310 years before I came here.

311 M When did you go to England?

312 F England I went while I was teaching in Kinnard, I took a sabbatical

313 M Oh! Then you went to Nottingham.

314 F Nottingham, for my Masters then I came back then I taught for

315 another couple of months then I got this opportunity, no in fact I

316 taught for a year and then I got this opportunity here and then I

317 came here.

318 M When was this?

319 F This was 96-97. In 96 I went to Cambridge to do a teacher

320 training course and then I came back and that is the time that I

321 collected information and I then I collected information and I then I

322 thought no I want to go to Nottingham I want to do this Masters in

323 Educational Management and then I went in 97 came back in 98

324 and started doing, writing my dissertation,

325 M Umm

326 F Sent it at the end of 98 beginning of 99 came here February 99

327 M It was Feb 99 I'm just trying figure out when I met you first. Right

328 so having gone through all these changes back and forth studying

329 in the convent and Then Kinnaird then Cambridge then
330 Nottingham what did you feel about all the different Educational - ?
331 F Systems? Well you see when I went to Nottingham - Cambridge
332 was more or less a teacher training course this was a kind of
333 professional / teachers it was a kind of..... we were more into.
334 exchanging our views exchanging our ideas and sharing our
335 experiences so that was a different - When I went to Nottingham
336 I was with the other students at that time I think I was far too mature.
337 M How old were you then?
338 F I was in my- How old was I? I was 26 so you see at that time I
339 was far too mature they were not going to make, nothing was
340 exciting I had done it all in the sense that okay this was a new
341 system of education so you had to get used to it this is a new
342 needed support -
343 M But did you....?
344 F Yes of course.
345 M Freer
346 F Yes you do feel more free but you also feel a bit apprehensive
347 because in Pakistan everything is so guided even when you are
348 doing your Masters, the teacher is there, the material is there, but
349 uuum at Nottingham I was at sea in Beginning, I was completely
350 at sea because I was given a list of books I was given a topic and
351 I was told to do this research and blah blah blah and on this and
352 this day this paper should come in and oh oh - Then you say
353 what are you people doing here? Because this is not the type of
354 system we had in Pakistan it is the responsibility of the teacher
355 you see if you haven't done well in a certain paper. It is the
356 responsibility of the teacher. The teacher is preparing you to take
357 this book, take this article, read this, add this, add this. In
358 Pakistan they guide you but there you were left on your own but by
359 that time I had already been a teacher for so many years for four
360 years yes four – five years so I was expecting it and I was
361 prepared I think had I gone to Nottingham right after my BA or right

362 after school I would have faced more difficulty or maybe not maybe
 363 I would have gotten used to it sooner, aaaah but that was basically
 364 it that – suddenly you felt that what happens to all the guidance
 365 you were used to doing things in a different way.

366 M Mmmm so was there a kind of equation between school common
 367 school and at school and at home as far as discipline was concerned?

368 F More or less yes because my mother was also of the convent and
 369 aaah there was a lot of discipline at home, that is true.

370 M So then it was not a big shock?

371 F Not a big shock at all and it wasn't that I mean, it was that every
 372 child was allowed to run wild after home and suddenly the discipline
 373 at school.

374 M Mmmmm

375 F So that was okay it was when I entered college and you know you
 376 meet people from different walks of life at school everything is
 377 very controlled even your friends your mother knows them your
 378 parents know them it a smaller group but when you go to college
 379 people are coming from different walks of life different cities,
 380 different backgrounds and that where I mean a lot of learning is
 381 going on.

382 M mmmmmm

383 F Not just academic learning but about life

384 M But your brother never studied in Pakistan your older brother

385 F No, he did ,he did his Senior Cambridge and then he went abroad
 386 yes he did

387 M So you cannot say what he felt about growing up in Pakistan?

388 F No, not really no he left home when he was 16.

389 M So do you think that boys of your age kind of had more freedom
 390 then you had in the 80's late 80's you said.

391 F Yes, of course. the boys had more freedom than we had in
 392 Pakistan.

393 M Okay is it kind of what would you call yourself as somebody aaah
 394 who was uum blossomed more once leaving home, leaving

395 Pakistan leaving home means living Pakistan because you were
 396 living with your parents.

397 F I was living with my parents I think I blossomed when I went to
 398 Nottingham. That is the time yeah when I became a very
 399 independent thinker. You were forced to think on your own because
 400 there was no-one to guide you. In Pakistan
 401 it was easy to run to a teacher, to run to a mentor, run to a friend
 402 in England you couldn't do anything you had to make your own
 403 decisions whether they were small things or big things.

404 M Mmmm

405 F So I think that was the first major step towards independence that
 406 gave me a lot of intellectual independence so that was one thing
 407 and also that was the first time that I was on my own I was coming
 408 from a very protected background so that was the first step and I
 409 think when I came here but that was just one year the step was
 410 taken but then I went back to the same system I went back to the
 411 same environment but I aaah uuum think there has always been a
 412 tussle between me and my culture there are some things that are
 413 very I accept them very easily and there are some things that I
 414 don't.

415 M Mmmmm

416 F And that has always been there?

417 M For instance

418 F Aaah freedom of expression, aaah I'm totally against hypocrisy
 419 of any sort whether it is religion or whether it press or whether its
 420 aaah thinking but these are the little things that bother me about
 421 my own society and people used to call me a misfit then they call
 422 me a bigger misfit now because now, I feel I don't fit into that
 423 system I do not care for the rat race do not care keeping up with
 424 the Joneses and these are elements and these are things which
 425 are very common in Pakistan.

426 M Only in Pakistan or the Pakistani society here, as well?

427 F Pakistani society here as well, more or less yes.

428 M So that's it kind of so what - How do we resolve that what I mean
429 you said - ?

430 F I have accepted being branded different aaah so I have I think
431 accepted that I am not changing anything, I am, and if anybody
432 is interested, in listening to what I have to say or sharing or
433 exchanging the same kind of views very good if not I do not care---

434 M But how? People of age kind of feel more inclined to indulge in
435 conversation with you?

436 F Older

437 M Older

438 F That is why that is why perhaps I feel more comfortable with older
439 people may be it's the level of authority I don't know or may be I
440 feel safe with them I don't know I have nothing in common with the
441 with the younger people which is sad.

442 M Or your own age group

443 F Or my own age group because I have nothing to say to them.
444 Going back to Pakistan all my friends are married with grown up
445 kids and their problems. I have nothing in common with them
446 because -

447 M Because of the marriage?

448 F Because of the marriage perhaps because I think we have just
449 moved apart.

450 M Mmmmm

451 F You know they have their own typical kind of things the servant
452 problem, the children problem,"saas" (mother-in law) problem,
453 the husband problem. I cannot contribute to that I can empathise
454 - I can sympathise but then I get bored with that kind of talk.

455 M Mmmmmm do they take your advice on board?

456 F Actually, you see what happen is, that I haven't met them for year
457 now.

458 M Mmmmm

459 F So I don't know if they want to take my advise or not, probably not.

460 M Mmmm

461 F Aaaah so that is gone - the kind of people that I come across now,
462 I have been able to form very nice relationships with people of my
463 age also here in the University. Aaah but aaah I like to go for the
464 more intense, serious-minded, -mature people I cannot take
465 frivolity and aaah.....

466 M Mmmmm so how do you feel you have evolved going kind of more
467 towards a certain extreme or things not bothering you as much as
468 they used to?

469 F Yes, M. that is all part of growing up that is part of maturity. At one
470 point things would bother you and you would want to change
471 them and you would be more broken and you would be more
472 intense and you would want to be heard more and I actually have
473 come to a stage things don't bother me any more. Really.
474 And I think that is how I have evolved was gone through, ahh
475 certain experiences gone through - aah met so many people,
476 gone through different experiences, tasted different environments
477 different cultures and really things don't bother me any more
478 because may be now I understand more. I don't want to change
479 people, people are, what they are and one should learn to accept
480 more there was a time when I wasn't accepting I was fighting
481 [Urdu] Aisa nahin hona chahiye. Aisa hona chahiyeh, aysa nahin
482 karna chahiyeh, Ya shayad karna chahiyeh. (It shouldn't be like
483 this, it should be like this. You shouldn't do this, you should do this.)
484 but now I say but why if Misbah is like that good enough if I'm
485 like that take it or leave it. In the beginning, when you are growing
486 up there is this whole notion of being accepted. You
487 have to be of a certain type in Pakistan to be accepted
488 [Urdu] Aisay larki ko batana hai, aisay baat karn hai, aisay
489 education honi chahiyeh, yeh hona chahiyeh hai, wo hona
490 chahiyeh. (Tell this to the girls, speak like this, education should be
491 like this, it should be like this, it should be like that). all the time
492 you basically you are compromising And then basically there
493 comes a point and you say, "But why? What for."?

494 M Mmmm so if -

495 F I am chilled out now but I wasn't a couple of years ago. I used to

496 Get worked up I used to want to change things I used to correct

497 people [Urdu] Keh aisay nahin sochna chahiyeh, aisay sochna

498 chahiyeh. (That you shouldn't think like this, think like that.) I would

499 want to justify, I would want to do all those things now

500 I don't give a damn Okay that's fine, that's how you feel, that's how

501 you feel.

502 M Do you think it is just more maturity here, or it could have

503 happened the same thing could have happened in Pakistan? Not in

504 Oman

505 F Oman! Ahh, well

506 M It could have happened anywhere.

507 F It could have happened anywhere it depends because that is ones

508 own personal development

509 M Development! Aah

510 F It doesn't really matter where you are. Maybe, I would have evolved the

511 same way if I did stay in Pakistan because I have only spent seven years of

512 my life in Oman most of the formative years I have spent in Pakistan. So

513 the personality was more or less formed then.

514 M Mmmm so here but then you said that you have had exposures to

515 different cultures different people from different walks of life even. I'm

516 sure there are lots of Pakistanis you wouldn't have really entertained in

517 Pakistan the ones you are entertaining here.

518 F Yaa, I think that is because one has to because you are part of the

519 community and you just feel

520 M You are thrown

521 F You are thrown and according to that arena you just have to be polite to

522 people, and you meet them and you do whatever people who you would not

523 even think of receiving back in Pakistan.

524 M Nevertheless, you do meet them more than others so, any

525 particular?

526 F No these are no reason – aah just that they are nice enough to invite me
 527 and I return the favour it is more than that now I have nothing in common with
 528 them but like I said to you I am so chilled out now that it doesn't bother me
 529 anymore if xyz is like that then he is like that.

530 M Mmmmm

531 F Now I'm not now I'm looking more for - person - nice person or not so
 532 nice person - that kind of thing.

533 M Well well ummm

534 F Yeh, genuine [Urdu] hay key nehin hai. (Isn't it?)

535 M What is genuine?

536 F [Urdu] Jo aap- sincerity of feeling say aap ko milnay heeyan, yeh nahin
 537 (The sincerity of feeling with which they meet) - they are very nice to your
 538 face and the moment your back is turned they say horrible things about you
 539 or they are just being polite or they are hypocritical. I would rather have
 540 two friends with whom I can open up, they don't judge me I don't judge
 541 them you can have a nice rapport and that's it. With some people you are
 542 just being polite and you just need that social.

543 M You are getting together because people knowing people.....

544 F Yes and there is no point being impolite and saying [Urdu] mujhe naheen
 545 milna bekaar log hain, array baithe hain to mil lo. Baat hi karni hey thhodi
 546 der key leye. (I don't want to meet useless people. If they're sitting there,
 547 then meet them. You just have to chat for people. If they're sitting there,
 548 then meet them. You just have to chat for a short time.)

549 M Can you be on the same wave length, can you talk the way you are talking
 550 sometimes one is talking but one is not really talking?

551 F Mmm that happens most of the time.

552 M And you keep on talking and you don't understand them and they don't
 553 understand you

554 F No, that is, I understand them I understand what they are saying,
 555 why they are saying but like I said it all goes back to the time when I
 556 started literature and now I am reading between the lines and trying to
 557 understand what this person is speaking like this or saying something.
 558 Where does it come from? Then you don't

559 judge them, you actually feel sorry for them or you understand what
560 their problems are

561 M Let me as

562 F I actually got interested in human nature and human nature can be
563 studied at

564 M Different

565 F Different levels, different cultures, different this and different that

566 M Had you had, had you been married with kids do you think you would still
567 have associated with all of them?

568 F Probably more I would think because I don't know what kind of friend my
569 kids would have brought home

570 M Well then it would have been up to the kid to bring kids home

571 F Well again, that would have been a different thing maybe I would not have
572 got along with the parents hadn't seen their point of view but would have
573 had to socialise because of the children you see. Or one wonders what kind
574 of people your husband would have had to associate with since what his job
575 would be like you see so you are meeting a lot of people that you may not
576 have had time for or you may not even associate with or you would want to
577 associate with or you have nothing in common

578 M Mmmmm

579 F You see I don't want to sound prejudiced or biased or I don't want to sound
580 snooty and say that people I don't want to associate with - why what is so
581 great about me, nothing. They may be saying the same about me I think I
582 would rather put it this way there are some people with whom I cannot - we
583 have nothing in common

584 M Mmmm

585 F And with some you do find something which you have in common and
586 when I am meeting people like you said there are so many people that you
587 wouldn't meet in Pakistan then fine but I am trying to find some common
588 thing on which I can speak to them and try to understand them.
589 Understanding human nature is actually a hobby with me, it fascinates me.
590 I'm extremely interested in human nature actually when people are talking, -

591 two people are talking I am not concentrating on what they are saying I am
 592 concentrating on what is not being said

593 M Mmmmm

594 F And I go into that realm.

595 M But how do you know what your assumptions are really

596 F No! That one wouldn't be sure of that - its just that you understand people
 597 better you accept more

598 M As far as your students are concerned how do you do the same with
 599 them?

600 F Yes, now I try to do it when I came here I got very frustrated and I thought
 601 [Urdu] Yeh university main hain, yeh hamare chhatween panchween jamat
 602 key bacchon key thara aisee hain. (They are at university. They are like our
 603 6th and 5th grade students.) I thought," What world are they living in what
 604 are they doing and what is this education system? --- "What is happening? "
 605 And then you sit down and you try to understand and you try to understand
 606 where they are coming from this is the first generation that is studying and
 607 look at that and the people who are making – aah have made the policies etc
 608 and in the last ten years have made a tremendous tremendous difference.
 609 When I came, for example when I came in relation to what I am doing now,
 610 when I came seven years ago the course that I was teaching was practically
 611 on scraps of paper- there was nothing. They were trying to make something
 612 - they were trying to make a reading course So we would get a short story
 613 and so go and teach it we would get something like and go and teach it and
 614 you know five photocopies with no connecting theme nothing and when I
 615 took over the course and I became the coordinator and then I realised how
 616 much work and now when I look at the book and realise so much work has
 617 gone into it but that is all part of –you know -

618 M Ummm Evolvment

619 F Development and evolvment

620 M Mmmmm so in the same way the students have evolved?

621 F Same with the students you have to understand that look, they are coming
 622 from the interior they have had no exposure [Urdu] Mujhe irritation hoti

623 thee – kay students ko yeh nahin pata - iska nehy paataa. (I used to feel
624 irritated – that students don't know this or
625 that.) How come? How come? And then one day I was thinking that about it
626 then I thought my God you are being so snotty you are being so biased. If
627 you come from a certain background why are you assuming that these
628 students should also know the same thing [Urdu] Nahee patta hai unko
629 nahee aya hai, woh kahan say utth kay aayeh hain, usko kaya pata, tumharay
630 gaon se jo log aate hain usko patta hota hay is cheez ka? (They don't know.
631 Where have they come from? Do people from the villages know these
632 things?) So it just makes you more patient with them.

633 M Mmm but this was your own realisation had someone else told you the same
634 thing would you have accepted that? Someone else's realisation had
635 happened before your realisation

636 F No it would have helped, it would have certainly helped but you see, you
637 have certain things in life, at certain points you have to arrive yourself.

638 M ummm.

639 F You can be helped but you have to understand it has to be your perception
640 your
641 understanding you have to go through the fire to get to that point. When I
642 came here and T told me the [Urdu] Teen padha keh ayee ho, yeh
643 chhatty satveen jamat kay bacchon ka
644 bhee kaam nahee hai. (What are you doing for 3 months? You have come
645 after teaching M.A. students. This is not even the work of 6th 7th grade
646 students.) And – I thought, okay, fine but I was still struggling till I got to the
647 realisation myself. I can't – I won't say it is not such a struggle now, it is a
648 struggle but I think understanding is different...

649 M So when you were a teacher in Karachi ahh in Kinnard. And then you went
650 to Nottingham and then you went to back- And when you were in
651 Nottingham were you thinking of your students and what they went through
652 in school because they were on the receiving end and you were the teacher.
653

654 F Not really, to be honest I wasn't thinking so much of the students I was
655 thinking more of myself because I had gone back to study and you see I was

656 struggling because there I was standing on the other side you see, and now
657 suddenly I was on the receiving end again.

658 M Yes that is what I mean

659 F So that was like three or four years I had taught in Kinnard and I thought I
660 was God's gift to earth and suddenly I was a student again and you have to go
661 through the whole thing and- and you know again those deadlines and the
662 pressure etc so I can't say I was thinking about my students. I think I was only
663 thinking about myself and the pressure was greater because - then I was a
664 teacher you see, I was a professional who had gone back to study and I had to
665 perform well because I knew there were so many people waiting to see what I
666 was doing you see had I been a normal student who had done her BA and had
667 gone to do her Masters I don't think that pressure would have been there.

668 M Mmmm

669 F When I did my second Masters the pressure was greater.

670 M Mmm had you gone on a scholarship or had you gone on your own?

671 F It was part scholarship from the British Council, part my own.

672 M Mmm why did you choose Educational M- ?

673 F Aaah I didn't want to go and do more literature – it is all about reading and
674 that you can do on your own. At that point in time I wanted to make a shift,
675 I wanted to get out of teaching I thought I had had enough four or five years
676 of teaching literature enough I wanted to get into management I wanted to
677 get into administration.

678 M Mmmm

679 F And that is what prompted me to do this masters and well uuum life
680 sometimes strange before I could even finish it I got this job. Now a lot of
681 people ask me why did you come here because this is like going back to
682 teaching and yes I didn't put in much thought at that time I think I wanted to
683 be independent, I wanted to get another flavour, a different life, a different
684 culture and then i thought let me get out of Pakistan let me take this job and
685 that would be a stepping stone and then maybe I'll do more and maybe I'll
686 move , maybe I'll do this. You see at that point you are feeling that the
687 world is your oyster.

688 M Mmmmm

689 F And that is what happened and I thought fine, this is an opportunity to leave
690 Pakistan. Once I get there, I can take it up from there and I as luck would
691 have it there were some personal things that happened some personal ahh.

692 M Ahh Issues

693 F Issues. And I wasn't able to move and I wasn't able to pursue what I had
694 wanted to pursue and then, - now - I think I have gotten into a very
695 comfortable niche. There are times when I feel that no maybe if at some
696 time I can get out and do something.

697 M But you did study further

698 F I did. Yes, - then - after those some personal issues were resolved and I
699 thought I can't be.....then I embarked upon the PhD project, and I started
700 reading and I knew it was going to take time and I wasn't going to rush it I
701 wasn't going to push it. That for me was a kind of catharsis which wasagain
702 I wanted to stay with management and continue and see how it worked and I
703 was able to complete that. It was interesting in the sense that I had moved out
704 of the university environment I was into the business environment I was into
705 being a businessman I was looking at a totally different professional area, -
706 other than teaching. That was a big learning experience that was really a good
707 learning experience interacting with all kinds of businessmen, small
708 businessmen, big businessmen very professional ones, unprofessional ones, how
709 do they manage? What is their leadership style? How do people feel about
710 them? But that was a very interesting study again on human nature how things
711 were done in Oman. How people were making a place for themselves as
712 expatriates in a Community. You see a different a totally different ballgame.
713 So very interesting great learning an aaah when I finished that and now I feel
714 now what? Do -should I leave teaching? Get into management full time? That's
715 the stage that I'm in.

716 M Since you are so much into - I mean obviously one knows one strengths and
717 I'm sure more than one person must have told you about your strengths
718 about your PR quality

719 Uummm

720 Aaaaah which are fantastic anywhere but especially in the business world.

721 It would be now. That is where I would like to go. But (slight laugh

722 in her voice) the only problem is that they're all looking for experience. You
723 see, I have no experience. I have got a lot of theory and I'm very good with
724 theory - they are not expecting that, they want experience. Now the problem
725 is aaah the problem is that they can get someone who is much younger, who
726 will ask for very little and is willing to start right from the first rung and I
727 am not willing to do that. Cannot it be both?

728 M Umm! Can't you keep both? Do this and do that?

729 F No no

730 M Can't you keep both can't you do this and do that as a hobby kind of till you
731 get your foot in the door I mean because looking forward kind of looking
732 forward?

733 F Yes I would like to do that and I keep looking around also but that is the one
734 thing like a – a reality aaah the jobs people the kinds of jobs that I can do is
735 they require - the company or the firm requires five to ten year
736 of.....which I do not have but I have a lot of theory but this is not what
737 they are looking for. They are looking for experience that is the reality. I
738 can end up teaching HR I can end up teaching leadership but again that is
739 teaching.

740 M Mmm you would rather to the practical

741 F I would rather do the practical and that is getting late if you understand what
742 I am saying you see that is getting late. They don't want that now they want
743 someone with experience to come in.

744 M Well its all to do with so do you think it is the perception of the men since
745 they are in business more than women. Are there any women who would
746 look at it in a different way?

747 F No I don't think it is a gender issue?

748 M Mmmm

749 F It is all it is very simple you see now today if I was running a firm or an
750 organisation and someone came in who had done their xyz degree but has
751 more experience I would rather go for the one who has five or ten years with
752 the company working in that field, you see. I have got to be a little more
753 realistic. Ahhh - Some decisions that I have made in life I have made at the
754 wrong times I have to take responsibility for that.

755 M Mmmmm

756 F You see. I can't blame anybody else - no I don't think that is a -

757 M So going back to teaching one last question so going back to teachers

758 and students do you think aah it is the teachers' beliefs that you as you were

759 just talking about your own teacher you did say that the teacher's beliefs

760 that -

761 F Motivated

762 M Motivated, you, inspired you "putting the fire in you" using your words -

763 F Uum

764 M Uuum that is something that happens and I am talking about your

765 maths teacher?

766 F Mmmm

767 M So, do you think, - you as a teacher, there are students over there who aren't

768 getting that kick from you a kick start do you - can you think of any

769 incidence or your perception about it?

770 F Aaah yes, I think that teachers are responsible and teachers are an important

771 factor aaahh uuum in the - in the development of the personality of their

772 students. Couple of my students who had gone on to do their majors in

773 literature from the department have come back and said Miss you have done

774 this this this and you could relate to what you said or when you are doing

775 this you are thinking what you said and Miss I started doing this also

776 because you told me about it...It gives me a certain - satisfaction- that in

777 my little way I was able to do something for them. Whether they realise it

778 or they will realise it much later I - I have had students who have come back

779 and said you are a very strict teacher and we were afraid of you but today

780 we are thankful for what you did to us then the way you pushed us. So that

781 is, that makes me - happy.

782 M Mmmmm anyway thank you very much.

783 F You are welcome I hope [Urdu]. Koe faeda hoowa? (Did you benefit

784 from this?)

785 M Mujhay yeh likhna hay. (I have to write this up.) Thank you. Yeh abhee

786 hay. (the time

787 is..) We have been talking for an hour. (the end)

Appendix VIII Descriptive Portrait of Fatima's First and Second Interviews

Sample with Line numbers:

Early childhood and family background

Fatima, the second child of her parents, was born in 1964. She has an older brother and a younger sister and a brother. Her mother got married when she was still in her teens to a banker. Fatima speaks of her mother as a disciplinarian using the same discipline as in the convent school that she went to, "there was a lot of discipline at home" (398). However, she considers herself very lucky as she was "allowed to study" (244), because in the 80s "there was this general air of resignation" things were changing due to Zia-ul-Haq and people would say, "how good girls should be" and, "Get her married in F.A. [Fellow of Arts]" (Urdu), as "many girls were married off after Matric [Matriculation is after 10 classes of study]" (244-245). She adds, "I consider myself very lucky as my parents were very progressive minded" (250-251), and "I was not pushed into that but you are affected by the environment generally, it is very much there it's a reality". (250-251).

Going to school was not a pleasurable experience for Fatima. On the contrary it appeared to be a fearful experience for her. She says, "why didn't we enjoy school?" Why were we so afraid? I remember I hated going to school, I would cry my eyes out" (318-319). Looking back and reflecting she adds, "when I analyse and I recall, I think it had a lot to do with teachers and the discipline of the convent" (322-323). It was the behavioural rules of obedience that scared Fatima, she goes on to say that they were told how to walk in a certain manner and if you did not do your homework, "it was the end of life for you" (327). This she thinks destroyed her personality, "all these rules kind of, I think they destroyed my entire personality...and I came out of school a very insipid girl who was afraid of everything – She didn't want to upset the apple cart" (329-333).

Fatima did not speak directly about her experiences of teachers in school. However, one early critical challenge that Fatima mentions is studying tables and maths at school in class 3 or 4.

Fatima recalls this by saying she was "unable to master tables" (18) and that was, "...a stumbling block in my life and that kind of developed a kind of a psychological wall" (20-21) and "this was a kind of uum stumbling block to learning" (41-42). She reflects that, everything that she did later, "was like a reaction to maths" (23). She adds that she said to herself, "Since I cannot do maths therefore I cannot do science. Since I cannot do maths I cannot go and do MBA. Since I cannot do maths I cannot do this so that was a kind of a block which I do not know how it started (24-26). She adds that she developed

“paranoia”. She mentions that she is not sure whether this was because of the way it was taught, the teacher or the methodology or the fear of failure, “or the fear of rejection, the fear of failure or what it was but I had decided that I cannot do this (28-29). However, she later goes on to say: “it was quite simple, if only someone had explained to me” (37).

Teenage years and adulthood

She went to a prestigious educational institution, Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, during the late 1980s and early 90s where she did her Fellow of Arts, (F.A.) Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) and her Master in English Literature (M.A).

It was at college, that she says that her personality changed, “going into a far more open atmosphere, I think in a way I rebelled and I think that is how I developed my personality but it happened later in life (334-336).

Here she mentions studying Islamic Studies which was in Urdu and English. It was considered to be an easy subject as it involved rote learning (she says this in Urdu), and according to Fatima, even these days that is how it is taught. Looking back as a teacher now at that experience she says, “my God, how did we abuse the education system. Is it the system, is it the methodology, is it, are there other factors e.g. teaching in Pakistan as you well know is not a very paying job...most of the teachers are pretty frustrated with life so they are not interested in what they are teaching (Urdu) – they also get a small salary packet so they go to people’s house to give tuitions. They also have to make both ends meet and make do and make up on their own frustrations, so sadly that kind of fire that should have come from within them and which should have come to us never happened. That connection was never there” (301-313), she adds, “So we were not really connected” (351).

When Fatima was in college it was during the time that former President Zia ul Haq held political power in Pakistan, and as she said, there were a lot of changes to Pakistani society at that time, most noted being changes to women’s place to Pakistani society.

Later in the interview whilst discussing her studies of English literature, the suppression of women in Pakistani society during Zia ul Haq’s time, and she mentions misconceptions of Islam in Pakistan. In this context she recalled having Islamic Studies in F.A., but goes on to say, “the sad part here is, [in Urdu:] we studied and sometimes we didn’t then what are we studying?), we were not inspired” (287-289). Being inspired [by teachers] when it comes to learning appears to be key for Fatima. She again mentions being inspired by teachers at University level.

Fatima described her teachers at college as being a ‘mixed bag’ (3). She did recount having some teachers that inspired her (118) at college level, whilst others “kind of sleep

walked through the whole thing” (122-3). Fatima did not go into detail about the negative experiences that she may have had with teachers (at school or tertiary level), but instead continued on to say, “I would really like to remember one teacher who did inspire me and I think I did my Masters [in English literature] just because of her” (123-125). This was at around the age of 20. The reasons that Fatima gave for being inspired by this teacher (who was a Christian Pakistani, also convent school educated (same school as Fatima’s and a few years older than Fatima) were that, “she would relate everything that we had read, she would relate the written word to real life experiences (127-130)...this is how we started to make connections also, and that is how literature became a life for us, especially for me” (132-134). This was a self-proclaimed turning point for Fatima as the experience with that teacher, “made me think, analyse and I think it is because of her or because of all that we were doing at that time that you know, I am able to read between the lines” (140-143). This ability to understand subtext and understand people was considered by Fatima to not only be a part of academic learning, but also, “a life skill, a skill for life” (144-145) as she says she can “understand people” (147) better as she has developed a skill for life.

While mentioning this teacher who developed a passion for literature in Fatima, she adds that she developed a friendship between them which at first was a “teacher/student” (169) relationship which developed into “very strong friendship”(167) later and even to this day she goes back to her with her “personal problems” (172).

When asked how this teacher made English literature relevant to life in Pakistan, Fatima recalled that, at that time, they were studying feminist literature and that parallels could be drawn between characters in George Eliot’s novels and her own life in Pakistan at that time (late 80s, early 90s). Fatima makes a special reference to context as this was the time that Zia ul Haq’s influence was strongly felt in Pakistani society, especially by women, “women did feel a little frustrated and women were very suppressed” (184-185). Fatima goes on to explain and qualify this statement by saying, “I am not talking about now, now things have changed, but that was the time when we’re talking about a lot of suppression” (185-187). It is within this context that Fatima said she found it very easy to relate to the frustrations of Maggie Tulliver (from *The Mill on the Floss*) who tried to “reach out and all her environment, her family, everyone is pulling her back...this is the kind of thing most women in Pakistan do go through and certainly the women of the 80s” (190-193). Fatima gives special attention to the religio-political views at that time with reference to Zia, such as, controversy over wearing the *chaadar*; issues surrounding *pardaa*, and also, when asked, mentions that Sharia law had started before she entered college. Fatima was part of a generation growing up during President Zia-ul-Haq’s regime. She adds that they did not get any support from the older generation (I assume women) as this did not affect them as “their personality had been formed”, “they could not relate to what was

happening to us, this new generation, what was happening to us, this new generation that was coming up in Pakistan” (229-236).

Sharia law had started even before she entered college and the time period Fatima is mentioning was when she was in her MA and “that was the time he had been blown to bits but even after that the remains were there, we were not able to come out, come out of that shroud he had cast on us (200-207). Fatima, while speaking in English mostly, mentions in Urdu, that there were a lot of problems taking place at the time which was during Zia’s regime and it was a very difficult period when one is young she says in Urdu, “we were faced by the Hudood law and problems of Sharia” (209-212). Before this she mentions in English, “Sharia law in fact started even before I entered college and now we are talking about my Masters and that was the time –he was blown to pieces but even after that the remains were there we were not able to come out, out of that shroud that he had cast upon us” (200-204). Fatima reemphasises, “You know when you are growing up, your early teens that was the time when Zia had- he was there very much there mid 80s and that is the time that I went to college and we were faced by that Hudood law” (204-207). She adds there were many such problems at the time.

When asked how did the older women (women of my generation) felt about this, Fatima adds very philosophically, that those women were not in their formative age therefore they were “not affected because they had been formed whatever they were their personality had been formed right, you see, so for them, they could not kind of relate to what was happening to us, this new generation- this new generation that was coming up in Pakistan” (229-233).

She further adds that there was an air of resignation, “they were sympathetic but you see the fate of most Pakistani women in Pakistan, they accept and they were resigned” (235-236). This was further explained by Fatima that this was not only fighting a system but “it was the culture and the environment” (238-239) but now (it is 2006 summer) “because of so many changes that have come into the culture” (239-240) but in the 80s, “it was not very easy to fight (240-241) as, “there was this general air of resignation” (241-242). This added to the pressure on her as girls were told what to study and how good girls should behave (242-243). She also adds that boys had more freedom than girls in Pakistan (420-421).

Professional Stage

Fatima was given a teaching post teaching B.A and M.A. classes even before her final M.A. exam results came out “ I became a teacher very early in life the moment I finished my Masters, I hadn’t even got my degree and I started teaching” (96-98) and she, “felt honoured” by this (third interview/questionnaire).

After teaching for about 4 to 5 years in Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, she went on one-year sabbatical (341) to Nottingham University (this was partly paid by the British Council in Pakistan and partly paid by her). This was for a Masters in Educational Management as she desired to change her career and have other options. She also said that she did not wish to study literature because that is all about reading which one can do on ones' own. Moreover, she "had had enough" about 4 or 5 years of teaching literature and she wanted to get into administration. (715-719).

Further, whilst in Nottingham, as a mature student, life was not exciting, as Fatima puts it, "nothing was exciting I had done it all in the sense that okay this was a new system of education so you have to get used to it and needed support" (368-369). She felt "freer" but also felt a bit apprehensive as she puts it, "in Pakistan everything is guided even when you are doing your Masters, the teacher is there, the material is there but at umm at Nottingham I was at sea in the beginning. I was completely at sea because I was given a list of books, I was given a topic and I was told to do research—on this day, this paper should come in..." (375-381). This is a significant observation about the different expectations placed on students in different educational environments, and the challenges that one may face going from one to another.

Being a student again was challenging as she compared this new system to what she had been used to and says that I asked myself, "then what are you people doing here?" She adds that in Pakistan, "it is the responsibility of the teacher to see that if you haven't done well in the paper" then it the teacher did not prepare you well. The teacher provides all the papers and articles and guides you but in Nottingham, Fatima says she was left on her own. In her own teaching college, she says, "I had been teaching in Kinnaird and I thought I was God's gift to earth and suddenly I was a student again" (700). There were all the deadlines to meet and assignments to hand in and when asked if she was thinking of her students back her as she was a student, she responded that she was not. Being a student she was under pressure as, she says, "I was a professional who had gone back to study and I had to perform well because I knew there were so many people waiting to see what I was doing, you see" (702-709).

On a personal level, she says that in Pakistan she was living with her parents and when she went to the UK to study she blossomed and that is the time according to her she became a very independent thinker (426- 428) as, "you are forced to think on your own as there was no one to guide you " (428-429). Whereas, in Pakistan, "it is easy to a teacher, run to a mentor, run to a friend" (430). However, over there she was forced to make her own decisions and think for herself. For the first time from a protected background to this new challenging environment propelled her to take the first steps or

rather, “major steps towards independence” (434) which inculcated her “intellectual independence”. She says, in “just one year the first step was taken”.

Self Analysis

After Nottingham it was back to the same environment and she says, “I went back to the same system, I went back to the same environment” (439-440). After reflecting for a moment she adds, “I think there has always been a tussle between me and my culture” (440-441): as there are many things she accepts but others that she does not as this feeling has always been there with her. When asked for an example she says, “freedom of expression” (446), it could be about religion the press the society...and adds “people used to call me a misfit then and they call me a bigger misfit now. I feel I don’t fit into that system, I do not care for the rat race do not care keeping up with the Joneses and these are elements and these are things which are very common in Pakistan.” (450-454). When asked if she has the same feelings in the present place of abode where there is a large Pakistani community, she answered in the affirmative. Then she adds that, “I have accepted being branded different—I’m not changing anything” (460). She then adds that if people are ready to listen to what she has to say, or share and exchange views then it is fine with her if not then it is still alright. Here she says that there are many Pakistanis that she wouldn’t have entertained in Pakistan, but here, you are thrown and according to that arena you just have to be polite to people “whom you would not even think of receiving in Pakistan (550-552). She again adds that she is “chilled” now and things do not bother her anymore.

Later she says that she has grown up and matured so things do not bother her as much as they used to, “I have evolved...it is part of maturity”. In the past she would be more intense, wanted to change things, would feel ‘broken’ and “wanted to be heard more”, but she says that after many different experiences, meeting different people and having “tasted different environments, different cultures “so now things do not bother her and adds, “maybe now I understand more” (498-507). She does not wish to change people any more as people are what they are and, “one should learn to accept more, there was a time when I wasn’t accepting, I was fighting” (508-509). Then in Urdu, she adds, that in Pakistan it is all about being accepted and that when you are growing up there is this whole notion of being accepted. Moreover, you have to be of a certain type of person to be accepted in Pakistan. In this context she again brings up the point of how girls are expected to behave in Pakistan. Fatima says that she questions that.

Now she says she is “chilled”, but not a couple of years ago. In the end she feels that she has evolved and it is due to age and maturity, personal development that she does not want to change things any more and has become more accepting. This change is not because she is living away from Pakistan that she has started thinking like this as she had

only been in the Arabian Gulf for 7 years and most of her “formative” years were spent in Pakistan, “so the personality was more or less formed then” (541).

She adds that she has a better rapport with older people as maybe it is her level of maturity or “their level of authority” (468). It is ‘sad’ she says that she does not find anything in common with people of her own age even her friends in Pakistan. There could be many reasons their topics of interest are different, as they have got married and talk about children and mother-in-laws and their problems.

Fatima while talking about issues related to women in Pakistan, compares the way Islam is understood in Pakistan as compared to the Arabian Gulf country that she is in at present. She expressed her views of cultural restrictions on women in Pakistan about remarrying. She firmly believes that the problems she thinks are cultural rather than religious. Giving the example of women remarrying after divorce or after being widowed she says in Urdu “here they get divorced...they get remarried” (264-274). “I don’t think Islam has any or made any boundaries about age or anything” (263-264). Here in the Arab world, “Islam gives you a lot of freedom”, and she acknowledges by saying, “I had a misconception of Islam, when I came here, I realise that Islam is pretty open” (265-266).

Her own learning

Now later in life, after leaving Pakistan for her first job experience abroad in the Arabian Gulf (about seven- and-a half-years at the time of the first interview), she went back to studying Urdu literature.

When asked what made her do this, the reason she relates is: “umm maybe when I came here [to the Arabian Gulf] I realised that my identity being a Pakistani- I should have known my language a little better and which you do not realise in Pakistan” (58-60). She goes on to say that whilst you are in Pakistan, “you are surrounded by the language” (61), “but once you step out of Pakistan into a different culture and you feel that no, I have to make a place for myself and Urdu is my language and it is my identity and I think that is what inspired me” (62-65).

Whilst being able to speak and read Urdu, she cannot write Urdu well, as she says, “the sad part is that I am not able to write Urdu well, I can read Urdu but I am not a good writer” (44-45). She wonders whether this was due to complex Urdu grammar, the style of teaching or the focus of convent education being on English and not on Urdu (49-50). She does add when asked when Urdu was introduced in school, and she says from class 1 moreover, the good part was they started reading Urdu literature “that really inspired me”. However, the real skill of relating literature to life came much later on in life, as she says,

“when you go through certain experiences that you are able to appreciate and understand it” (78-80). Whereas in school the main purpose that Fatima saw at the time was to get a good grade by learning what was in the novels or the short stories, “it did not “really move” (85) her till she could, “associate that with other emotions (87-88). She laments that the fact that there was no Urdu at college level and that is another reason she is not able to write Urdu well but her interest has encouraged her to read Urdu literature.

When asked about her interest in Punjabi literature, she mentions that Punjabi was not taught formally in school but Urdu was (69-74). Therefore, it is easier to go back to Urdu rather than Punjabi, however, recently (2006) she is developing an interest in Punjabi poetry.

As a teacher in the Arabian Gulf

Fatima has been in the Arabian Gulf since 1999. As mentioned above, she started her job in the Arabian Gulf soon after finishing her second Masters (which was more management focussed, from Nottingham). Her move to the Arabian Gulf and path to EFL appears to have been circumstantial as soon after finishing her Masters, she got this teaching job in the Arabian Gulf, she says that on accepting the job, “at that time I think I wanted to be independent, I wanted to get another flavour, a different life, a different culture, and then I thought let me get out of Pakistan” (724-727). She had initially considered this teaching job a stepping stone to another career, “You see at that point you are feeling that the world is your oyster” (729-730).

Part of what seemed to fascinate Fatima through her studies of English literature, was trying to understand human nature, “[it] is actually a hobby with me, it fascinates me”(622-623), she uses the example that when two people are talking, “I am not concentrating on what they are saying, I am concentrating on what is not being said” (624-626).

When asked whether she tried to understand the students in the same way, she says “yes, now I try do it” (634). However, in the same sentence she also mentions her frustrations when she first started teaching in the Arabian Gulf. When she first started teaching in the Arabian Gulf she thought, “They are at university. They are like our 6th and 5th grade students” [Urdu] (636-637). The level of students made her wonder about the education system, and “what world are they living in” (638). On reflection, she tried to understand their environment and that “this is the first generation that is studying” (641), that the students have had “no exposure” (659) and whilst initially the level of students had irritated her, now, trying to understand the students makes her more patient with them. She says that still, “it is a struggle, but I think understanding is different” (687-688).

What kind of teacher

When discussing teachers' beliefs and motivations (with reference also to Fatima's earlier mentioned experience of learning maths), Fatima mentions her perceptions of teachers in general, "that teachers are responsible and teachers are an important factor...in the development of the personality of their students" (820-822). She mentions instances of ex-students coming to her and telling her about what they learned from her, which she says "gives me a certain - satisfaction- that in my little way I was able to do something for them" (827-828). It is in this context that she also mentions what type of a teacher she is- that some students have come to her and said – "you are a very strict teacher and we were afraid of you, but today we are thankful for what you did *to us* and the way you pushed us. So that is, that makes me- happy" (my emphasis, 830-832). It is interesting to note that whilst discussing beliefs and motivations of teachers in general- Fatima brings up the point of being a strict teacher and insinuates that it was what she did *to* (rather than *for*) them, motivated them. The notion of Fatima being a strict teacher appears again, this time in the second interview which was more directly focussed towards her perception of herself as a teacher.

Fatima says that in general she would describe herself as, "a very serious teacher" (Second Interview- {S.I.} 8-9, also S.I. 128). She also mentions that her teaching styled depends on the type of class she gets, important factors being- "the level of the students...the culture of the students" (S.I. 14). She immediately at the beginning of the second interview also compares her experience in the Arabian Gulf to that in Pakistan, where, "the level of the students there was much higher and they were culturally more sophisticated" (S.I. 17-19). In that context, she describes her teaching style as more "collaborative" (S.I. 20) and herself as more of a "facilitator" (S.I. 21). She notes it was not possible, when she came to the Arabian Gulf to see herself as a facilitator "because I thought they need to learn...and they need to learn fast" (S.I. 37-38). It is interesting to note, that, in this way, she sees learning fast and having a facilitative teaching style as being mutually exclusive. The important factors she considers in adapting one's teaching style is: "the level of the students...their culture, their needs, their requirements" (S.I. 44-45).

Describing herself as a very serious teacher, who does "not like frivolity" (S.I. 130), at the first class with each group, she gives the students her "own list of dos and don'ts. This is how I am...I give them an entire outline of what I expect from them...so right from the beginning they know that she means business" (S.I. 135-139). She goes on, "if they adhere to that, wonderful...but if a student is just not interested...then I am strict" (S.I. 141-149). Being strict, as mentioned above, seemed to be a significant way in which

Fatima sees herself as a teacher; she mentions it a further time in the second interview with regard to keeping up with deadlines (S.I. 176).

With regard to being strict, and also being serious, she appears to mean by this that there is “No waste of time, no” (S.I. 211). When asked whether there were any jokes, she responds, “Jokes depending uh, *if the class is with it*” (S.I. my emphasis 213). “It’s not that I don’t laugh with them, or I don’t joke with them, but work has to, work, work has to come first (217-218). Again, there appears to be a mutual exclusivity at play, being serious means no time is being wasted on jokes, and work is the priority- which does not seem to take place in a light-hearted way, but more with the teacher being in a strict- and perhaps authoritarian- position.

Cultural relevance

Cultural relevance in teaching English literature to Arabian Gulf students was brought up when Fatima was asked whether there were any incidents with the students that she had had to deal with. As mentioned above, Fatima brought up the notion of ‘cultural sophistication (S.I. 57) of the students in her second interview. Regarding the content of the English literature texts, she says that in Pakistan, “we never had any, any problems, but the students are very sophisticated, very mature and very with it, with the ideas and...the content of the, the texts we were studying” (S.I. 63-66). On the other hand, in the Arabian Gulf, “we are very careful. It [the text] has to be culturally relevant” (S.I. 67-68). Fatima goes on to say that they have had no major issues with the chosen texts in the Arabian Gulf, but at times the students are not entirely happy with the text. She gives the example of the 1879 play, *A Doll’s House*, by Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen. At times she says they do have girls (students) who are surprised at the notion of an independent woman making her own decisions, which Fatima describes as moments of “cultural, I would say, amazement” (S.I. 81-2). That, however, “can be very easily handled” (S.I. 85), by saying that certain texts “belong to a certain culture and they may not be relevant to a large extent to your own. Which puts them at ease, completely” (S.I. 87-89). After this, she says, she’d gradually talk to them about their own women in their own society, and then, “I’d very slowly bring them to the idea that what about themselves?” (S.I. 94-95). This, in terms of making such a major decision to go to university, and telling them “you’ve changed the entire culture” (S.I. 113-114). ‘Handling’ issues appear to be an important part of introducing such texts to Fatima, whilst certain ideas that stem from certain texts can create a shock, “handled maturely and handled easily, it’s not” (S.I. 121-122).

With regard to gender differences in how the male and female students respond to texts, she says “you’d be surprised that the boys are far more open minded than the girls” (S.I. 179-180). She later goes on to qualify this by saying that it is not that the girls are not

open minded, “just they don’t, they don’t want to voice it...because, you know it’s a mixed class” (S.I. 183-185), and they do not know how they will be perceived by the boys. In this context she says that “it’s also a very cultural role that they are...living within...they don’t want to portray themselves as independent...thinking girls, which they are” (S.I. 190-202).

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